

REPORT  
OF THE  
Thirteenth Annual  
-- Conference --  
-- OF --  
The Labour Party.

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28, VICTORIA STREET,  
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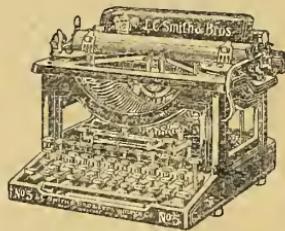
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# REPORT OF THE 13th Annual Conference

OF  
The Labour Party

*General Assembly*  
HELD IN

THE PRINCE'S HALL, LAMBETH, LONDON, S.E.,

ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29th, 1913,  
AND TWO FOLLOWING DAYS.

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FOR INDEX, SEE PAGE 128.

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THE LABOUR PARTY,  
28, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

# The Executive Committee

OF

# THE LABOUR PARTY,

Elected January 31st, 1913.

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**Chairman:**

TOM FOX

(Trades Council and Local Labour Parties).

**Vice-Chairman:**

HARRY ORBELL

(Dockers).

**Treasurer:**

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BEN TURNER, J.P.  
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(Fabian Society).

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(Railwaymen).

JOHN WILLIAMS, M.P.  
(Miners' Federation).

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**Secretary:**

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.,  
28, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

# Report of the Executive, — 1912. —

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## MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the Party at the end of 1912 was 1,895,498 ; as compared with 1,539,092 in the previous year. The affiliated Trade Unions were 135 as against 141 in 1911, a number of amalgamations being chiefly responsible for this apparent decrease.

There were 83 Trades Councils and 66 Local Labour Parties affiliated in 1911, as compared with 83 Trades Councils and 70 Local Labour Parties in 1912.

The I.L.P., with a membership of 28,000, and the Fabian Society, representing 3,237 members, together with the Women's Labour League, and the Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society, continue their affiliation.

The following Table indicates the growth of the Party since its formation thirteen years ago.

	No.	Trade Unions, Membership.	Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties,		No.	Socialist Societies, Membership.	Total.
			No.	No.			
1900-1	..	41 ..	353,070	..	7 ..	3 ..	22,861 ..
1901-2	..	65 ..	455,450	..	21 ..	2 ..	13,861 ..
1902-3	..	127 ..	847,315	..	49 ..	2 ..	13,835 ..
1903-4	..	165 ..	956,025	..	76 ..	2 ..	13,775 ..
1904-5	..	158 ..	855,270	..	73 ..	2 ..	14,730 ..
1905-6	..	158 ..	904,496	..	73 ..	2 ..	16,784 ..
1906-7	..	176 ..	975,182	..	83 ..	2 ..	20,885 ..
1907	..	181 ..	1,049,673	..	92 ..	2 ..	22,267 ..
1908	..	176 ..	1,127,035	..	133 ..	2 ..	27,465 ..
1909	..	172 ..	1,450,648	..	155 ..	2 ..	30,982 ..
1910	..	151 ..	1,394,402	..	148 ..	2 ..	31,377 ..
1911	..	141 ..	1,501,783	..	149 ..	2 ..	31,404 ..
1912	..	130 ..	1,858,178	..	146 ..	2 ..	31,237 ..

## BYE-ELECTIONS.

During the year the Party contested four Bye-Elections, and we append herewith the result in each case, together with the records of previous contests in which we have engaged in the same constituencies :—

### HANLEY.

July, 1912.

R. L. Outhwaite (Liberal)	..	..	6,647
G. H. Rittner (Conservative)	..	..	5,993
S. Finney (Labour)	..	..	1,694

Majority	..	..	654
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January, 1910 :	December, 1910 :
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E. Edwards (Lab.)	..	9,199	E. Edwards (Lab.)	..	8,343
G. H. Rittner (Con.)	..	5,202	G. H. Rittner (Con.)	..	4,658

Majority	..	3,997	Majority	..	3,685
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<sup>1</sup>This total includes 2,271 Co-operators.

<sup>2</sup>Includes 472 Co-operators.

<sup>3</sup>Includes 565 Co-operators, and 3,500 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>4</sup>Includes 678 Co-operators, and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>5</sup>Includes 760 Co-operators, and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>6</sup>Includes 911 Co-operators, and 5,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>7</sup>Includes 1,073 Co-operators and 5,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

## HOLMFIRTH.

June, 1912 :		January, 1910 :			
S. Arnold (Lib.)	..	4,749	H. J. Wilson (Lib.)	..	6,333
R. G. Ellis (Con.)	..	3,379	R. G. Ellis (Con.)	..	3,049
W. Lunn (Lab.)	..	3,195	W. Pickles (Lab.)	..	1,643
Majority	..	1,370	Majority	..	3,284

## CREWE.

July, 1912 :		January, 1910 :			
E. Y. Craig (Con.)	..	6,260	J. Tomkinson (Lib.)	..	7,761
Harold Murphy (Lib.)	..	5,294	Col. Harrington (Con.)	..	5,419
James Holmes (Lab.)	..	2,485	F. H. Rose (Lab.)	..	1,380
Majority	..	966	Majority	..	2,342

## MIDLOTHIAN.

September, 1912.

Major J. A. Hope (Conservative)	..	6,021
The Hon. A. Shaw (Liberal)	..	5,989
Robert Brown (Labour)	..	2,413
Majority	..	32

The results of these contests have served to emphasise the importance of the one factor upon which the Executive Committee and the Head Office have always laid stress when considering constituencies and elections. The Hanley contest was occasioned by the death of Mr. Enoch Edwards, no doubt as a result of the heavy physical strain entailed by the responsibilities of the Miners' Strike in the early part of the year; and it came at a time when the Executive were making strong representations to the Miners' Federation respecting the unsatisfactory state of Labour organisation in most of the mining constituencies. Similarly, in Holmfirth and Midlothian, this chief essential to electioneering success was in a neglected condition. No amount of enthusiasm—useful and necessary as that may be—can atone for the absence of efficient machinery.

In connection with the Crewe contest, we have to report that the political circumstances which prevailed were exceptional, and the Executive felt very strongly that the Party was bound to fight the seat. Mr. James Holmes, of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was selected as candidate, and threw himself into the fight with the greatest vigour. The National Agent was engaged in the Hanley Contest and, at extremely short notice, Councillor Egerton P. Wake undertook the duties of Election Agent. Special financial arrangements had to be made in connection with the contest, particulars of which are given in the statement of accounts.

## CANDIDATES AND CONSTITUENCIES.

The following Candidates have received the official endorsement of the Party Executive, and the various organisations indicated have assumed financial responsibility for their candidatures provided that

such meet with their approval and receive the official sanction of the Party :—

G. H. STUART, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.  
(Postmen's Federation).

J. N. BELL, J.P., 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne  
(National Amalgamated Union of Labour).

COUNCILLOR R. J. WILSON, 4, Sidecliffe Road, Roker, Sunderland  
(Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees).

ALDERMAN J. H. JENKINS, J.P., 101, Romilly Road, Cardiff  
(Ship-constructive and Shipwrights' Association).

BEN TILLETT, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.  
(Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union).

J. SEXTON, J.P., 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool  
(National Union of Dock Labourers).

W. C. ANDERSON, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.  
J. BRUCE GLASIER, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.

J. BURGESS, 278, New Hey Road, Bradford.

T. RUSSELL WILLIAMS, Airedale, Farnhill, via Keighley.

H. SNELL, 3, Leighton Crescent, London, N.W.

T. MCKERRELL, Mary Villa, Riccarton, Kilmarnock.

M. T. SIMM, 15, Oakfield Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

J. H. PALIN, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford.

GEO. BANTON, 19, St. Margaret's Street, Leicester.

H. E. WITARD, 75, St. George Street, Norwich.

DR. ALFRED SALTER, J.P., 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.

DR. E. H. STANCOMBE, Westbourne, College Place, Southampton.  
JAMES WINSTONE, Snowdon House, Freehold Land, Pontnewydd,

Pontypool, Mon.

R. C. WALLHEAD, 9, Hythe Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport.

J. H. HUDSON, M.A., Oaklands, Flixton, Lancs.

(Independent Labour Party).

T. F. RICHARDS, 94, Uppingham Road, Leicester.

FRANK SHEPPARD, 190, Cheltenham Road, Bristol.

J. GRIBBLE, Clare Street, Northampton

(Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union).

The following Candidatures have been sanctioned for the constituencies indicated :—

Newton : J. A. SEDDON, Laurel Dene, St. Helens  
(Shop Assistants' Voluntary Association).

Jarrow : A. G. CAMERON, " Ferndale," Denbigh Road, Hounslow,  
Middlesex (Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners).

West Wolverhampton : A. G. WALKDEN, 337, Grays Inn Road,  
London, W.C. (Railway Clerks' Association).

Preston : W. H. CARR, J.P., Delamere Street, Ashton-under-Lyne  
(United Textile Factory Workers).

Wigan : H. TWIST, J.P., The Laburnums, 296, Bolton Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield.

Leigh : T. GREENALL, 94, Leigh Road, Boothstown, Manchester  
(Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation).

West Hull : ALFRED GOULD, 1, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull  
(Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners).

## LITERATURE.

The only special publication issued by the Party during the year has been the reprint of the debate on "Industrial Unrest," raised by the Party on the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament. This met with a ready sale and was an encouraging experiment. The demand for leaflets in the constituencies during the past twelve months has been less than usual, but a new edition of our Registration Leaflet and of those dealing with municipal electoral matters were again widely circulated. The total number of leaflets sold during the year was 681,850, and the demand for canvass cards exceeded 245,050.

Upon the publication of the *Daily Citizen*, the Executive decided to discontinue the "Quarterly Circular" and to encourage our affiliated organisations to look to the new Labour Daily as the official organ of the Party.

## FINANCE.

In accordance with the decision of the Birmingham Conference the Parliamentary Fund was closed and the balance transferred to the General Fund, and, including a balance of £13 2s. 6d. in the Special Appeal Fund and £135 7s. 0d. in the Ramsay MacDonald Testimonial Fund, the total balance at the beginning of the year was £14,188 13s. 8½d.

During the month of January, 1912, Parliamentary Fund contributions—arrears for 1911—to the amount of £1,408 14s. 0d. were paid.

During the year Affiliation Fees totalling £3,861 17s. 0d. were received, these being on the new basis of 1d. per member per year.

Literature sales amounted to £579 6s. 5d., as compared with £598 17s. 2d. last year.

Parliamentary maintenance totalling £100, outstanding at the Birmingham Conference, has since been refunded, together with Loans amounting to £800.

Further contributions to the Ramsay MacDonald Testimonial Fund amounted to £74 13s. 0d., making £210 in all.

The total income for the year was £7,340 14s. 2d.

The expenditure for 1912 was £10,302 19s. 8½d., which includes £6,000 invested in "Labour Newspapers Ltd."

The Balance on December 31st was £11,226 8s. 2d., of which £10,000 was on Deposit Account when the books closed.

Details will be found in the Statement of Accounts on pages 32 and 33.

## OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS.

Early in the year arrangements were made for additional office accommodation by the taking in of an adjoining room. Other improvements were made in fitting up the Offices which have conduced to more efficient work.

## GRANTS TO LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.

In accordance with the recommendations adopted by the Birmingham Conference a Sub-Committee of the Executive drafted a scheme for subsidising affiliated local organisations in constituencies where full-time agents were engaged. The following conditions were imposed :

1.—That all applications for financial assistance must be accompanied by a complete statement showing the affiliated local Party's composition and details of its organisation.

2.—That in the case of existing appointments complete particulars of salaries paid to the Agents, indicating from what sources they are obtained, must accompany applications. A copy of the last published balance sheet must also be sent.

3.—That in the case of prospective appointments Agents should be selected by open competition and complete particulars of their qualifications and proposed salaries must be furnished.

4.—That the Association responsible for the appointment of the Agent must report fully to the Head Office each half-year, in May and November, upon the work accomplished and the condition of the organisation. The National Agent shall report upon these statements to the Executive Committee.

5.—Contingent upon the above being deemed satisfactory the Executive shall agree to a sum not exceeding 25 per cent. of the salary being paid in half-yearly instalments.

6.—Applications for grants of literature, registration forms, or other assistance may be made by Labour Parties in constituencies having either Members or sanctioned Candidates, but not otherwise benefiting under this Scheme.

Up to the present the following Grants have been made to organisations in the constituencies indicated :—

	£	s.	d.
Bow and Bromley ..	..	..	15 0 0
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	..	..	13 0 0
Gorton ..	..	..	13 0 0
Newton ..	..	..	32 10 0
Woolwich ..	..	..	32 10 0
Dundee ..	..	..	26 0 0
Barnard Castle ..	..	..	26 0 0
Bishop Auckland ..	..	..	16 5 0

Assistance has also been given by way of grants of literature, &c., to other constituencies and further applications are still under consideration.

#### SCOTTISH ORGANISATION.

It will be remembered that at the Birmingham Conference the Executive stated that it had under consideration a Report on the question of Scottish Organisation. In pursuance of this work four district conferences were arranged in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh, respectively, when the Secretary and the National Agent attended on behalf of the Executive. Each Conference was representative of the local movement, and useful discussions took place with regard to prospective constituencies, general organisation matters, and the formation of a Scottish Committee. At each Conference a Committee was appointed to consider further the question of Scottish organisation and forward its suggestions to the National Executive. A Special Sub-Committee of the Executive gave full consideration to the various drafts submitted, subsequently made proposals to the Scottish Organisations, and now recommends the Conference to endorse the following scheme :—

NAME :—Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party.

ANNUAL MEETING :—The Council shall meet annually.

**CONSTITUTION** :—The Council shall be constituted of delegates as follows :—

Scottish Trade Unions .. ..	} 10,000 members or part thereof.	1 delegate per
Scottish District Councils of British Trade Unions .. ..		
Affiliated L.R.C.'s .. ..		
Affiliated Trades Councils .. ..		
Scottish I.L.P. Council .. ..		2 delegates.
Women's Labour League .. ..		1 delegate.

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** :—The Executive Committee of the Council shall be composed of 9 representatives, as follows :—

- 3 from the Scottish Trade Unions and the Scottish District Councils of British Trade Unions (only one of whom shall be nominated by any one trade) ;
- 3 from the Affiliated L.R.C.'s and Trades Councils (only one of whom shall be nominated by any one body) ;
- 2 from the Scottish I.L.P. Council ;
- 1 from the Women's Labour League.

The Executive Committee shall elect its own Chairman.

**ORGANISING SECRETARY** :—The Organising Secretary shall be a paid permanent official appointed by and responsible to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

**FINANCE** :—The Executive Committee of the Labour Party shall bear the cost of the Organising Secretary, his Travelling Expenses, an Office Address, with Stationery, Printing, and Postage ; it shall also provide 75 per cent. of the cost of the Annual Meeting and Executive Meetings, the Scottish Advisory Council to provide the remaining 25 per cent.

**AGENDA FOR ANNUAL MEETING** :—The Agenda of the Annual Meeting shall consist of the Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Advisory Council, matters submitted by the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and subjects relative to Scottish politics ; resolutions dealing with purely trade matters shall not be in order.

**APPENDIX** :—Estimate of Cost per annum :—

Salary of Organising Secretary not to exceed ..	£150
Travelling Expenses, &c. .. ..	75
Office Address .. .. ..	10
Stationery, Printing, Postage, &c. .. ..	25
Annual Meeting .. .. ..	50
Executive Committee Meetings .. .. ..	40
 Total .. .. ..	 £350

**INTERNATIONAL**.

The Executive Committee of the Party is represented on the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau by Messrs. Geo. H. Roberts, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., John Hodge, M.P., J. J. Stephenson, and Arthur Henderson, M.P., who acts as Secretary.

At a meeting of the Section early in the year the following Constitution was adopted :—

**INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.**  
**BRITISH SECTION.**

**1.—Constitution.** The Parties eligible to be affiliated to the British Section of the I.S.B. shall be the Labour Party, the I.L.P., the B.S.P., and the Fabian Society. Their contributions and representation shall be based upon their votes at the International Socialist Congress, namely, 5, 2, 2, 1, respectively. The other members shall be the Chairman of the British Delegation at the International Congress, a Secretary, and the three Representatives on the I.S.B.

**2.—Officers.** The Chairman, the Secretary, and the two Representatives on the I.S.B. shall be elected at the first Section Meeting held after the International Congress.

**3.—Finance.** Each Society shall pay its fees to the Section half-yearly in advance on January 1st and July 1st respectively. Any Society twelve months in arrears shall be disqualified from membership of the Section.

**4.—Executive Committee.** The Chairman, the Secretary, and two members of the Section, shall form the Executive Committee.

**5.—Meetings.** The Section shall hold four Statutory Meetings annually, the first meeting in each year to be the Annual Meeting. The Chairman and the Secretary shall have power to call Special Meetings as necessity may arise.

**6.—Travelling Allowances.** The allowance for representatives of the Section, when travelling in connection with I.S.B. business, shall be at the rate of 12s. 6d. per day when meetings are away from the place of residence, and 7s. 6d. per day otherwise. An additional day shall be allowed to cover incidental expenses. Third-class fares shall be paid for home deputations and second-class fares abroad.

During the year the Bureau promoted a Memorial urging an Inquiry into the trial of the Members of the Second Russian Duma, which received the signatures of the Members of the Parliamentary Party, and was then forwarded to the Russian Authorities.

A Memorandum was drafted on the proposal in favour of a General Strike as a protest against any threatened outbreak of war, and copies were circulated widely through the various Trade Unions and Socialist Organisations. This Memorandum will be found in an Appendix.

In view of the statements and allegations made in the application of the British Socialist Party for separate affiliation to the International Bureau, the Section issued the following survey of the charges made against the Section and the Labour Party with replies to each specific point raised :—

**CHARGE 1:**—Notwithstanding the unanimous votes of the Independent Labour Party at the Amsterdam and Stuttgart International Socialist Congresses in favour of Socialist Unity in Great Britain as in other countries, the Independent Labour Party invariably refuses to arrange such Socialist Unity with another Socialist organisation, unless that organisation would affiliate itself to the Labour Party, which includes the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and a number of trade unions.

CHARGE 2:—There is every reason to believe, and its recent votes render the matter certain, that the Independent Labour Party would return the same answer to any proposal for Socialist Unification which might come from the British Socialist Party.

REPLY:—These charges deal solely with the attitude of the I.L.P. (which is only one section of the British Labour Party) to Socialist Unity. The points implied do not concern the British Section of the I.S.B., and we understand they have been the subject of considerable correspondence between the I.S.B. and the I.L.P.

CHARGE 3:—The Labour Party as represented in the British House of Commons is not only not an avowed Socialist Party, but it declines to adopt a Socialist programme, and frequently acts and votes in an anti-Socialist sense.

Moreover, the Labour Party, as a Party, neither recognises the class war nor declares in favour of the socialisation of land and mines and factories.

REPLY:—The position of the Labour Party in the International Movement was laid down by the I.S.B. at Brussels on October 12th, 1908, when the following resolution was adopted on the motion of Karl Kautsky :

“ In view of the standing resolutions of the International Congresses which admit all organisations that recognise the proletarian class struggle and the necessity of political action :

“ The International Bureau declares that the English Labour Party is to be admitted to the International Socialist Congresses because, although it does not avowedly recognise the class struggle, it actually carries it on ; and because the organisation of the Labour Party being independent of the bourgeois parties is based upon the class struggle.”

Resolutions in favour of the Nationalisation of Land and Mines, as well as general resolutions on Socialism have been passed on several occasions by Annual Conferences of the Party. They are also the subject of Parliamentary Bills and Motions agreed to by the Party, and enumerated in the “Quarterly Circular,” issued in April, 1912. Further, in February last, on the introduction of the Address at the opening of the Parliamentary Session, 1912, the Labour Party moved an Amendment regretting “that, having regard to the existing industrial unrest arising from a deplorable insufficiency of wages, which has persisted notwithstanding a great expansion of national wealth, and a considerable increase in the cost of living, the Address contained no specific mention of legislation securing a minimum living wage and for preventing a continuance of such unequal division of the fruits of industry by the nationalisation of railways, mines, and other monopolies.”

In view of subsequent charges it may be noted that this Amendment was resisted by the Liberal Government and was defeated in the House of Commons by the Government’s combination with the Conservatives.

In general, if the work of the British Parliamentary Labour Party is compared with that of the Parliamentary Socialist Party of any country in the world it will be found that the British Party does not require to apologise either for the amount or the character of its activities.

CHARGE 4:—(a) The Labour Party also, of late more particularly, has acted as nothing more nor less than the tail of the capitalist Liberal Party, and in that capacity has supported measures in direct opposition to the interest of the working class;

(b) Has refused to take action in support of strikers against the repression of the Liberal Government; has aided the Government in tricking both the Railwaymen and the Miners by fraudulent misrepresentations;

(c) And failed to raise a debate on the unjustifiable imprisonment of Tom Mann and others, though had the forty members of the Party risen in their places, this could have been accomplished even without the aid of the extreme Radicals who were present, and who did rise in order to force a discussion on the matter.

REPLY:—(a) The charge is quite untrue. It is difficult to reply to a vague statement like this, but the Labour Party has never supported measures contrary to the desires of its Annual or Special Conferences, which are made up of 450 to 500 delegates, representing over 1,500,000 organised Trade Unionists and Socialists.

(b) So far from refusing to take action in support of strikers, the Labour Party, during the Railwaymen's, the Miners', and latterly, the Transport Workers' Strikes, was in constant communication with the Unions concerned, and its action in the House of Commons was taken in co-operation with them. In proof of this we give below the expressions of thanks to the Party for their services, which were forwarded by the Executive of the Railwaymen's Unions and the Miners' Federation, after the strikes were settled.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FOUR RAILWAYMEN'S UNIONS (AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVANTS, GENERAL RAILWAY WORKERS' UNION, POINTSMEN AND SIGNALMEN'S SOCIETY, AND LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' AND FIREMEN'S UNION):—

"That this joint conference tender our very best thanks to Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and his colleagues (Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and Mr. George Roberts, M.P.), for the very painstaking and laborious efforts in bringing about the settlement, feeling confident no better efforts could have been made."

LETTER RECEIVED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY (MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.), FROM THE MINERS' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN:—

925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester,

*March 27th, 1912.*

Dear MacDonald,

I am instructed by the Executive Committee and all the Delegates at Conference to-day to convey to you and to the Labour Party their very best thanks for the great assistance the Party has given to the Federation in their endeavours to improve the Minimum Wage Bill.

Yours truly,

THOS. ASHTON.

At the request of the Strike Committee of the Transport Workers' Federation, a Member of the Parliamentary Party was appointed to act in co-operation with it; and in the House of Commons, and by the raising of financial aid, and in other ways, the Party rendered support to the strikers.

(c) In the case of the imprisonment of Tom Mann, arising out of the publication of Syndicalist articles, the Parliamentary Labour Party, although it disagrees with the Syndicalist policy enunciated by him, took his case in hand at the earliest opportunity, made representations to the Home Secretary on the subject, and secured that Minister's consideration of the trial. To seek a debate in the House of Commons prior to the Home Secretary having an opportunity of fully considering the complete report of the trial would have been premature and harmful. The individual Member who sought to move the Adjournment of the House, informed the Chairman of the Party that he did not propose to do so a few minutes before he actually did it. The wording of the Motion which he moved was such that any debate that might have been secured could not have dealt with the question as to whether Mr. Mann ought or ought not to be imprisoned, and no censure in that respect could have been passed on the Government. The fact remains—and it should be noted that this is suppressed in the application of the B.S.P.—that the efforts of the Party secured a reduction of Mr. Mann's sentence from six months to two months. An official statement, giving the above particulars, was issued by the Labour Party three weeks before the B.S.P. drafted their application for affiliation. Moreover, it should also be noted that, on May 22nd, speeches on the subject were made in the House of Commons by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Roberts, and in the public agitation that took place in the country, various Members of the Labour Party were prominent on the platform.

CHARGE 5 :—Under these circumstances, the delegates of the British Socialist Party decided at its Conference in Manchester by an overwhelming majority against taking any step towards affiliation with the International Socialist Bureau through the British National Section of the International Socialist Congress, on the grounds :—

- (a) That that Section is entirely dominated by the Labour Party which is represented two or three times over under different names ;
- (b) That it uses its majority against genuine Socialists ;
- (c) That it (? the Labour Party) votes steadily with the Liberal Party in the House of Commons ;
- (d) That it has appointed as permanent secretary of the National Section whoever happens to be temporary Secretary of the Labour Party, even though he is a non-Socialist ;
- (e) And that it fails entirely to act as a Socialist Party in any sense.

REPLY :—(a) The British Section is made up on the same basis as the allocation of votes at the International Congress and the fees payable to the I.S.B. The representation is as follows :—

Labour Party, representing 1,500,000 members, exclusive of the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society .. . . . ..	5 delegates.
I.L.P., representing 28,000 members .. . . ..	2 ..
Social Democratic Party (British Socialist Party), membership unknown .. . . ..	2 ..
Fabian Society, 3,250 members .. . . ..	1 ..

together with the British Representatives of the I.S.B.

(b) It may be added that, with one exception—the General Secretary of a Union affiliated to the Labour Party and whose votes and

influence have always been with the Left of the Party—each member of the Section is also a member of an avowedly Socialist organisation.

(c) The attitude of the Labour Party to the Liberal Government, and its voting in the House of Commons, has already been dealt with, and is also referred to in the reply to Charge 6.

(d) The appointment of the Secretary of the Labour Party as Secretary of the British Section was made for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the National and International Movements. Since the resignation of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, however, the proposal has been rescinded, and it has now been laid down that the British Section should appoint its own Secretary at its first meeting subsequent to the International Congress.

(e) The charges based on the relationship of the Labour Party and Socialism have already been dealt with.

**CHARGE 6:**—The British Socialist Party has consequently decided to apply direct for affiliation to the International Socialist Bureau and the Executive Committee hereby request the International Socialist Bureau to take into serious consideration the impossible position in which the Bureau itself has placed British Socialists who decline to bow the knee to what is virtually no better than a Liberal-Labour caucus of a wholly dependent character—the Chairman of that Party, for example, owing his seat at Leicester to 10,000 Liberal votes arranged for in accord with the official Liberal candidate, with whom he stands for election as a colleague—and will declare that the British Socialist Party shall have independent representation at the International Socialist Congress of Vienna, and be able to cast at least an equal vote with the Labour Party, should that faction still be granted the right to pose as a Socialist organisation on the International Socialist Bureau, and at the coming Congress.

**REPLY:**—The allegation that the Labour Party is a “Liberal-Labour Party caucus of a wholly dependent character,” is sufficiently disproved by the fact that the Party is always guided in giving its votes in Parliament by the question that is before it. When the Liberal Government takes up an attitude that is not in accord with the spirit of the Labour Movement it meets with the opposition of the Labour Party; and on numerous occasions it will be found that the Liberal and Conservative Parties have voted together to defeat the Labour Party. This was notably the case in the Amendment to the King’s Speech referred to, and in the proposition made by the Party after consultation with the Miners’ Federation of Great Britain to amend the Miners’ Minimum Wage Bill. Further, the electoral attitude of the Party may best be gauged by the fact that in all the elections it has contested since March, 1911, it has run candidates in opposition to the Liberal and Conservative Parties.

The reference to Leicester is childish and untrue. The Chairman of the Labour Party runs entirely independent of the Liberal Party. The official Liberal candidate is in no sense his colleague, and there is no arrangement regarding votes—not even so much as takes place between Social Democrats and other Parties in a second ballot for the Reichstag Elections in Germany.

**7:**—Against such permission, however, being granted any longer by the International Socialist Bureau to the Labour Party, as it continues to refuse to constitute itself a Socialist Party, the Executive Committee of the British Socialist Party hereby enters its formal protest,

retaining its right, should this protest be disregarded, to bring forward the whole question, due notice being given, at the International Socialist Congress of Vienna.

8 :—The Executive Committee of the British Socialist Party proposes to publish this statement, and to communicate it to the Socialist Parties of all countries represented on the International Socialist Bureau.

The reason for the delay in issuing this reply to the charges made against the British Section and the Labour Party is that whilst the B.S.P. apparently circulated them to all the Societies affiliated to the I.S.B., it sent no copy to their comrades of the British Section, neither to the Labour Party, I.L.P., or the Fabian Society ; and the British Section knew nothing about them until the receipt of No. 8 of the " Bulletin," in September last.

(Signed,)

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary.*

The Section also co-operated in the International Demonstration that were held in various Continental capitals on Sunday, November 17th, to protest against European intervention in the Balkan conflict and to uphold International peace. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., addressed a great gathering in Paris ; and although Mr. James O'Grady, M.P., was not allowed to address the Demonstration which was held in Berlin, except in German—his speech was recorded and interpreted by our German friends. The Section held a Demonstration in London when a most representative international array of speakers addressed a large audience. Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P. presided, and was supported by Edouard Anseele (Belgium) ; Ludwig Frank (Germany), Jean Longuet (France), Platon Drakoules (Greece), Mrs. Margaretta Hicks, George N. Barnes and Harry Quelch (Great Britain).

Hermann Silberschmidt (Germany) and Ettienne Rognon (France) addressed a similar Demonstration in Leeds on the same date.

The Section was also represented at the Basle Congress on the Balkan situation.

Its representatives on the International Bureau opposed the postponement of the International Congress which should have been held in Vienna in 1913, and which has now been adjourned until the following year.

#### JOINT BOARD.

The only matter of importance that has engaged the attention of the Joint Board during the year was the proposal for the unification of the various national Labour organisations. At the Birmingham Conference the following proposals, which had previously been passed by the Annual Council of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Union Congress at Newcastle, were unanimously endorsed :—

" That the present practice of three annual Conferences held at separate times of the year is expensive, leads to much waste of effort and to divergence of policy, and the amalgamation of the national bodies, without delay, should be aimed at."

" That a scheme for a central building, in Westminster, to be used by the Labour Movement, should be prepared."

"That a Committee be appointed to consider ways and means for the above proposals, and to report to a joint meeting of the three Executives within the next three months, with a view to its submission to the three national conferences."

Unfortunately, the Trade Union Congress had also adopted a resolution in favour of co-operation between the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party, but excluding the General Federation. These two contradictory decisions placed the Joint Board in a difficult position, and it decided that the matter should be referred back once more to the three National Committees to consider. The result has been that the Management Committee of the General Federation passed the following resolution which was subsequently endorsed at its Annual Council meeting this year:—

"The Management Committee believes that the best results can be achieved by the General Federation of Trade Unions maintaining its separate identity and autonomy, and by agreement to co-operate with the other bodies on all matters of national importance."

The Parliamentary Committee made no recommendation to the Newport Congress, but a proposal for unification put forward by the Boilermakers' Society was defeated by 1,064,000 against 310,000. The position now is that two out of the three annual conferences having decided against unification the matter has been dropped.

We regret that the efforts of the past few years have ended so unfortunately, particularly in view of the welcome tendency to closer organisation that is evident in the Trade Union world generally. Nevertheless, we trust that the Movement as a whole will at no distant date come to share our continued conviction that the proposals for which we have been responsible are both essential and desirable if the industrial and political interests of the organised workers are to be promoted in the most effective and efficient manner.

The Joint Board has also decided that the Cumberland Iron Ore Miners' is a bona-fide Union and entitled to be affiliated to the Party, but that the Liverpool Victoria Workers and the British Seafarers' Union should not be so recognised.

#### STANDING COUNSEL.

Ever since the Party has been represented in the House it has felt the need of a legal adviser who would be available for the drafting of Parliamentary Bills, Amendments to other measures, and generally to advise on points of law. In addition matters occasionally arise in the course of Head Office correspondence which necessitate legal advice. The Executive have therefore appointed Mr. Henry H. Schloesser, Barrister-at-Law, as Standing Counsel to the Party.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION AND JOINT ACTION.

Towards the end of the year the Board of the Co-operative Union suggested that a conference should be held for the purpose of considering the advisability of closer co-operation for common political purposes between the Trade Union Movement, the Co-operative Movement, and the Labour Party. The proposal met with our approval and we have appointed six representatives to attend the conference, arrangements for which are now in progress.

## ADULT SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION.

In co-operation with the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society the Executive held a highly successful demonstration on Adult Suffrage in the Albert Hall, London, on the eve of the opening of Parliament. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., presided, and speeches were given by Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., J. Keir Hardie, M.P., W. Crooks, M.P., and W. C. Anderson, Mrs. Despard, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, and Miss Millicent Murby.

The following resolution was carried with enthusiasm :—

“ That this meeting of men and women believing that the widest and simplest Suffrage affording to every person legal means for redress of grievances is the safest base for a Democratic State, insists that a drastic reform of the franchise, to include the complete removal of all the complications and absurdities of the present methods of registration, is long overdue, and that the time has come for the grant to every adult, man or woman, of the right to vote for all governing bodies both central and local. It assures the Government that no measure of Manhood Suffrage will be acceptable to the organised forces of Labour throughout the Kingdom, and demands a genuine measure of Adult Suffrage, conferring full rights of citizenship on all men and women.”

## MR. GEORGE LANSBURY AND THE PARTY.

Early in October Mr. Lansbury issued a circular and a draft resolution to the branches of affiliated organisations, and in view of subsequent events we think it desirable that both his letter and the resolution should be placed on record. They are as follows :—

### TO LABOUR ORGANISATIONS.

### THE REFORM BILL AND VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Comrade,—May I venture to appeal to you to bring to the notice of your members the imperative need of speedy action in connection with the question of women and the vote? I do so because it is my firm conviction that the Labour and Socialist Movement in our country has the power to at once end a position of affairs which if left alone may, and in my opinion will, develop into one of the greatest catastrophes of our time, namely, a Sex War.

Already deeds of violence committed by women as gentle and good as our mothers and wives have been and are being committed. Two working-class women have been and one still is fighting a terrible fight in a Dublin prison, being slowly tortured to death or insanity by forcible feeding and all its accompanying revolting cruelty. Other women are determined to carry on the fight. The reason for all this is that these women have lost all faith in political parties and the word and pledge of party leaders.

A large and growing number still have faith in our Labour Movement, and now is the moment to prove our loyalty. We want such an agitation amongst Trade Unions, branches of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. as will ensure that the Labour Party shall *at once* tell Mr. Asquith that the present Reform Bill must be withdrawn and a new one including women substituted; it is no use our trusting to Private Members' amendments. As everyone knows, they have very little chance if the Government Whips send the word round against them. Unless the Government accede to this demand, the

Labour Members of Parliament ought to withdraw support from the Government and go into opposition, voting against the Government in one division after another until they are either defeated or agree to grant votes to women. There is little doubt that in their anxiety to retain office, the Government would choose Votes for Women rather than defeat.

Now we men who in our Movement have asked for and obtained the support of women, should realise that if we want the misery and suffering which follows militant tactics to cease, then we must show the women by deeds that we intend taking our stand with them. The women can't fight with votes—we can do so, and I believe if we take our stand now we can bring the whole question to such a position as to secure Votes for Women in this session of Parliament ; the Labour Party will be disgraced for ever if it keeps in office a so-called Liberal Government guilty of cheating women of the vote. Therefore, I earnestly beg of you to urge your members to pass the following resolution and send it at once to the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Macdonald, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. John Redmond, and to your local M.P., and also to the Press. Let us each do our best by every means in our power to rouse public opinion and action at once.

I remain, faithfully yours,

GEORGE LANSBURY.

The resolution was as follows :—

The — Branch of the —, being determined that the political enfranchisement of the women workers shall be granted without delay, condemns the Government for introducing a Franchise Bill for men only, repudiates the sham pledges by which the Government are trying to trick the advocates of Votes for Women, protests against the Government which is guilty of such a policy being kept in power by the aid of Labour Votes—and finally calls upon the Labour Members of Parliament to vote constantly and relentlessly against the Government from now onwards until they have either driven them from office or compelled them to introduce and carry a proposal giving votes to women on equal terms with men.

On October 15th the Executive Committee met in consultation with the Parliamentary Party and discussed Mr. Lansbury's action. Mr. Lansbury was present during part of the proceedings, and lengthy consideration was given to the situation that had arisen, the following resolution being finally adopted, *nem. con.* :—

" That this conference is of opinion that the policy urged in the resolution is not in harmony with the decisions of the Annual Conferences of the Party, and while recognising that procedure rules of the House often prevent votes being given solely on the merits of the issue to be decided, is determined to press for the inclusion of women in the Franchise and Registration Bill.

" It further decides generally to pursue such policy on other questions at present before Parliament as will give effect to the decisions of the Annual Conferences and to the pledges of Members to their constituents."

On Monday, November 11th, it was announced that Mr. Lansbury intended to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, and to seek a fresh mandate

from his constituents in Bow and Bromley in favour of his policy as outlined above. The Emergency Committee of the Executive was immediately summoned to consider the situation. Mr. Lansbury was interviewed, and a series of questions bearing upon the bye-election and his future attitude to the Party was submitted to him, and his replies recorded. The Sub-Committee then passed the following resolution :—

“ That having regard to the circumstances under which Mr. Lansbury has applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, and having considered his replies to the questions submitted by this Emergency Sub-Committee, we are of opinion that Mr. Lansbury's candidature should not receive either the collective or individual support of the Labour Party.”

So important was the whole matter considered that a full meeting of the Executive Committee was also summoned. This latter meeting was held on November 14th, when it was reported that the I.L.P., which previously had been responsible for Mr. Lansbury's candidature and finance, had not been consulted regarding his resignation ; that no application for sanction or endorsement had been received ; and that under these circumstances Mr. Lansbury had ceased to be an I.L.P. candidate and the I.L.P. was not accepting responsibility for the candidature.

After considerable discussion the Executive Committee endorsed the recommendation of the Sub-Committee given above, and arranged for a draft statement of its attitude to Mr. Lansbury's candidature to be published. In order that the views of the Committee should not influence Mr. Lansbury's contest, either one way or another, the statement, which is given below, was withheld until after the polling.

#### THE LABOUR PARTY AND MR. LANSBURY.

“ Efforts have been made to present Mr. Lansbury as the victim of a caucus, which it would appear has attempted to coerce and intimidate him until in order to escape from this tyranny and retain his freedom of conscience he has been obliged to sever his connection with the Party and resign his seat. The real fact is that Mr. Lansbury is not the victim of tyranny. There is no caucus in the Labour Party. Its officers act on instructions received from the Party and report their actions weekly—mainly in the shape of recommendations to be accepted or rejected—to a full Party meeting. Mr. Lansbury has never been coerced ; no caucus has sought to control him. He has not observed even ordinary loyalty to his colleagues. From first to last he has gone his own way, irrespective of Party wishes and apparently caring little whether his speeches placed his colleagues in a fair or unfair light, or whether his actions united or split the Workers' Movement.

“ Take as a typical instance of his methods the incident which led up to the present situation. Without consultation with any of his colleagues, he issued letters and resolutions to affiliated organisations, asking them to put pressure on the Labour Party to depart fundamentally from the policy endorsed at Annual Conferences and to adopt that for which he alone stood. Part of this resolution was a censure upon his colleagues. Had it been accepted, as Mr. Lansbury's subsequent action in resigning his seat shows, it would have been such a breach of pledges that it would not have been put into operation without a wholesale resignation and appeal to Labour constituencies. But that is not all. Because the Liberals are divided between suffragists and anti-suffragists, the Labour Party was asked “ to vote constantly and relentlessly against the

Government," until the Government had been driven from office or had introduced and carried a proposal giving votes to women on the same terms as the men. "Codlin" is to be deposed in order that "Short" may be put in office. Thus, whilst Mr. Lansbury complains of imaginary cliques he acts as the dictator of Party policy and reproduces in himself—unconsciously, perhaps, but not less disastrously—all the vices of the caucus. His claim is that because he has changed his mind he has a right to expect that his forty colleagues should change theirs at the same time.

"In a covering letter which accompanied the resolution he made his position on suffrage quite clear :

" Unless the Government accede to this demand, the Labour  
" Members of Parliament ought to withdraw support from the  
" Government and go into opposition, voting against the  
" Government in one division after another until they are  
" either defeated or agree to grant votes to women."

Now, this policy will not survive five minutes' clear reflection. To carry it out the Labour Party would require to vote against national freedom for Ireland, the restoration of Trade Union rights, and every other proposal for social reform made by the Government, whilst the fate of the Franchise Bill is unsettled. So far from helping Women's Suffrage or any other Labour Party demand, a policy of this sort would alienate support and defeat its own purpose. It is a gamble with bankruptcy at the end of the game. The Government have pledged themselves that the question will be left to the free and unfettered judgment of the House of Commons, and we believe that in this way the great reform of Women's Enfranchisement has the best chance of being placed on the statute book. On this point we must remind our supporters that ever since the Labour Party came into the House of Commons it has urged that one of the most pressing reforms in Parliamentary procedure is that Cabinets should allow the House, freed from the pressure of Party Whips, to decide all important questions. At the present moment the Party is trying to get such an unfettered judgment upon several Bills which we want amended, including the Osborne Bill. We ought also to state here that the resolution and its proposed policy were the subject of a conference between the Parliamentary Party and the Executive Committee, when the views stated above were adopted with practical unanimity after a very exhaustive discussion.

"So much for the events which led up to the resignation. When he decided to resign his seat, and even after the step had been taken, Mr. Lansbury did not apparently think it necessary to inform the Independent Labour Party that he had done so, although he was one of its Parliamentary Members and had been financially assisted as a Candidate by the Party, and is at this moment a Member of its National Administrative Council. We merely mention this to show how lightly Mr. Lansbury estimates his responsibilities and obligations towards his colleagues and the organisation which has helped him. In re-fighting his seat he has not sought the endorsement of any national Labour or Socialist organisation.

"Under these circumstances the Party cannot support him, and in coming to that decision it is confident of the approval of its supporters in the country. If every Member of the Party who differs from his colleagues on some point of policy, is to be applauded for refusing to work with them, and be told he is guilty of no disloyalty when he strikes a blow at his friends and his Party, we see no future for a Labour Party

or a Socialist organisation in this country. Collective action would then be at an end and the hope of realising either the political or industrial unity of the workers as a means of their liberation would be a vain delusion."

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Mr. Lansbury's appeal for a mandate endorsing his new policy was unsuccessful. He was opposed by a Unionist candidate only, and was defeated by a majority of 751 votes as against a Labour majority of 863 in December, 1910.

### DEPUTATIONS.

The Executive has been represented at Conferences in the following constituencies : Oldham, Keighley, Wolverhampton, Bristol, Holmfirth, Coventry, Camlachie, York, Nottingham, Swansea, Stalybridge, Wigan, Ilkeston, Edinburgh, Southampton, Rotherham, Accrington, Eccles, Crewe, Sowerby, Hanley, and Darlington.

We have also been represented at National and International Conferences, &c., as follows : by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., at the Peace Congress and the Trades Union Congress ; by Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., at the Annual Congress of the French Socialist Party and the Canadian Trade Union Congress ; by Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., at the Annual Congress of the Austrian Socialist Party ; by Mr. Geo. H. Roberts, M.P., at the Annual Council of the General Federation of Trade Unions ; by Mr. J. J. Stephenson, at a Conference convened by the People's Suffrage Federation ; and by Messrs. Geo. H. Roberts, M.P., J. J. Stephenson, and Ben Turner, at the International Congress on the Balkan situation held at Basle. Their various reports are appended :—

### PEACE CONGRESS.

On behalf of the Party I attended the Conference of the National Peace Council, which met in the Caxton Hall, London, on May 15th to 18th, and took the chair on the evening of the 16th, when the question of Labour and Armaments was under discussion. The difficulty which these Congresses have to face is that they are being attended by the same men and women, and are compelled to consider old subjects upon which only old speeches can be made. They are most useful, however, but it is a pity that methods cannot be devised by which their virility can be kept up. In any event it would be a great mistake if the Party failed to associate itself with them on every conceivable occasion.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

### TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

I attended, on behalf of the Executive, the Trade Union Congress, which met at Newport between the 2nd and 7th of September. The report of the business transacted is published as usual by the Parliamentary Committee, and I need not refer to it. It was very gratifying to find an unusually large delegation. The spirit was excellent, and the condemnation of Syndicalism, on the one hand, and of Compulsory Arbitration on the other, was decisive, although an attempt was made in respect to the last subject to obscure the issues and to get fictitiously large support. The Congress was emphatic in the maintenance of both Trade Unionism and Parliamentary activity. I spoke on Wednesday, and the greetings I bore from the Labour Party and the defence of the action of the Party in the House of Commons were received with enthusiastic approval by the delegates.

Two decisions were come to, for which I think some misunderstanding was responsible. The first was the rejection of the proposal embodied in the Bill introduced by the Labour Party to make voluntary agreements general to a trade and district, and the other was the rejection of a resolution dealing with unity. In the first case the delegates who opposed the Bill did not appear to be quite familiar with its provisions, although Mr. Roberts made an admirable speech explaining it. In the second case the resolution upon which the delegates had to vote was unnecessarily complicated and raised difficulties that ought to have been left to a small committee to settle.

The Congress was one of the most successful ever held, and was a decisive answer to those who imagine that Trade Unionism is declining either in strength or in spirit.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

#### UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE.

According to your instructions I attended the Ninth Annual Congress of the United Socialist Party of France, which met at Lyons, on February 18th to 21st, where I received as your representative not only a friendly, but a very enthusiastic welcome. The Congress sat for five days, two of which were devoted to discussing the relations of the Party towards the Syndicalist movement. It appears that there had been an understanding between the Syndicalists—who, by the by, are the Trades Unionists who are affiliated with the General Confederation of Labour in Paris—and the Socialist Party to observe an attitude of neutrality towards each other. Two Members of the Socialist Party in the Chamber of Deputies, it was alleged, had departed from this agreement and made an attack upon the Syndicalists. They justified what they had done by pointing out that the Syndicalists had brought great hardship and distress upon the railway workers of France by calling them out on strike without preparation, which led to 3000 of them being victimised by the loss of all their pension rights, and that the Syndicalists had then come to the Party appealing for their aid in having the dismissed men reinstated. All the leaders of the Party took part in the debate and it speedily became apparent that the difficulty was more a personal one than one of principle, since all agreed in condemning the Syndicalist tactics. At the same time it was made clear that the anti-political attitude of the Syndicalists was being departed from and so in the end a compromise resolution was agreed to by a very large majority, the practical outcome of which was that bygones should be bygones.

Another long discussion took place on what should be the attitude of the Party towards temperance reform. In France no license is required for opening a café, and the question of regulating the sale of liquor had come before the Chamber of Deputies and had been opposed by eight or nine Socialist members. Here also the discussion was long and animated. The temperance advocates insisted that Socialists were bound to be actively interested in every question that affected—as intemperance does—the well-being of the people. On the other hand it was argued that men who had been victimised both as Trades Unionists and as Socialists were often able to make a livelihood by opening a café, and that this opportunity would be taken away from them if a license had to be obtained. In the end the temperance men won quite handsomely.

The third big subject of discussion was Freemasonry. Here also a great deal of animation—I could use a stronger phrase—was witnessed, but a considerable element of fun also prevailed. It was alleged on the one side that Freemasonry was a bourgeois, that is middle-class, organi-

sation, and was used to oppose Socialism. This was emphatically denied on the other side and it was pointed out that many of those who were now in opposition were or had been prominent members of the order. After the discussion the "as-we-were" resolution was also carried.

It was decided unanimously to postpone consideration of the Anti-war Strike question until the Annual Congress in April, 1913. Judging by the way references to the question were received, I should say that the Party will support the proposal with practical unanimity.

The Organisation of the Young was referred to the Executive with powers.

These were the outstanding and more salient features of the Congress. In my own speech I advocated closer fellowship between the Trades Unions and Socialists, and said that with us political action was intended to supplement not to supplant the strike, a sentiment which was very heartily cheered.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

#### THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS OF CANADA.

I presented my credential as the fraternal delegate of the Labour Party to the 28th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which met at the city of Guelph, Ontario, on September 9th. The attendance was very large and the Congress generally was voted the best ever held. Mr. J. C. Waters, of Vancouver, presided. Owing to a serious illness, from which he has since happily recovered, Mr. P. M. Draper, the Secretary-Treasurer was unable to be in attendance. I addressed the Congress in your name and met with a very hearty welcome. I described the constitution and working of the Labour Party, asked for more unification of the forces in Canada, and warned the workers there against being drawn into the whirlpool of militarism either by grants to the British Navy or other means. In the evening I was one of the speakers at a great demonstration in the Town Hall.

Unfortunately I was only able to put in two days at the Congress, but have since perused the report. One of the chief topics dealt with was the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, a resolution condemning which and demanding its repeal or drastic amendment was carried. A resolution protesting against the preference which various emigration agencies desire should be given in Canada to members of the Territorials or ex-soldiers from this country, was also carried, since this proposal must prejudice the chances of non-military Canadian workmen. Emigration was also dealt with at great length, the opinion of the Congress being that all the efforts of the Government and private agents artificially to stimulate emigration to the Dominion should be denounced.

The Congress instructed the Executive to secure joint action with the British Labour Party to ensure that whatever Conciliation legislation may be passed, the Right to Strike should be preserved. A like course was taken on the subject of War, and the Executive was "instructed to communicate with the officials of the Labour Movement in Great Britain with a view of co-operating in combating the spread of Jingoism."

Many other matters of prime importance were discussed and voted upon, but these, allowing for local differences, were of a similar kind to those with which our own Trades Union Congress has made us familiar. Having been present at the Canadian Congress at Halifax four years ago, it was a satisfaction to me to be able to note the very great progress which has been made in strengthening and consolidating the Trade Union movement in the Dominion, and also the way in which the Socialist and Trade Unionist forces are coming together for common action in the field of politics.

A member of the British Parliament who, like myself was in Canada at the time, was reported to have said that I did not speak for or represent the British Labour Party. The Congress took this up and passed a resolution declaring that "This Congress gives the lie direct to this malicious and uncalled-for statement," and insisted by a standing vote that the resolution, together with my credential from the Labour Party, should be published in those papers which had given the lie currency. This happened after I had gone, as did also the adoption of a resolution of a personal kind recording the pleasure of the Congress at my visit, and the desire for a general closer understanding between the Movement this side the Atlantic and that of the Dominion. The Congress appointed its secretary, Mr. P. M. Draper, to attend the next meeting of the Trades Union Congress, and when the political organisation of the working class movement of Canada has developed as it has here, we may, I think, fairly anticipate that an exchange of delegates will become a matter of course at the yearly conferences of our respective Parties.

(Signed) J. KEIR HARDIE.

#### AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

In accordance with the decision of the Executive I attended and represented the British Labour Party, at the Annual Meeting of the German Social Democratic Party in Austria, held on October 31st, 1912, and the two following days. The meeting, which was held in the People's Hall, Laxemburgerstrasse, Vienna, was very largely attended by delegates from all parts of Austria and Hungary, about 400 being present. The proceedings were opened by Dr. Adler, Member of the Austrian Reichsrath, who welcomed the foreign visitors, the British and French delegates receiving a specially warm reception. Short fraternal speeches were delivered by the British, French, Belgian, and other visitors in the order named, the great desirability of an International peace propaganda being specially emphasised.

Before the Conference closed I took occasion to repeat the invitation which your Executive authorised me to give to the Austrian Social Democratic Party to send a representative to the Annual Conference of the British Labour Party in January, 1913, and pointed out that London being now the place of meeting the difficulties of travelling were very much lessened. Our invitation I believe will be accepted.

Yours faithfully,

STEPHEN WALSH.

#### GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

At your request I represented the Party at the Thirteenth Annual General Council Meeting of the above, held at the Holborn Town Hall, London, on July 4th and 5th.

I found that the chief question before the gathering was the financial position of the Federation. Recent experience had shown that claims for benefit increase, and that each dispute tends to involve larger numbers. The difficulty of estimating strike risks was remarked, and the fact acknowledged that strikes in future were likely to be extensive and the necessity of larger contributions thereby rendered imperative. Heretofore the theory of Federationists was that the many could help the few. Now it appeared that the many needed help, while only the few could give it. Thus contributions must be readjusted to the newer demands. It was ultimately decided that reversion be made to the original contributions of 6d. and 3d. per quarter, with benefit for a period of eight weeks.

The question of fusing the three national bodies gave rise to one of the chief discussions. A motion in favour thereof was rejected by 46 votes to 21.

In the course of my address I referred to the troubles the Federation was encountering, and expressed the hope that these would be surmounted, so that its particular work might be effectively maintained. I followed this by a relation of the means whereby the Labour Party had been of assistance to the Trade Union movement, with special direction to the Transport Workers' strike then proceeding. The necessity of cohesion among all organised workers was impressed, having regard to the attacks now being made upon the movement by arrogant lordlings and interested plutocrats.

It is pleasurable to record that your representative was accorded a warm welcome, and your greetings were enthusiastically received.

Among the fraternal delegates was M. Auton Eidel, representing the Metal Workers' Union of Austria, who, speaking in good English, gave an interesting comparison of Austrian and English labour organisations. Incidentally he observed that in his country the employers were strongly organised, and offered formidable opposition to the workers' unions. This confirms the view that the situation in each country is very identical.

GEO. H. ROBERTS.

#### SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

I attended the Conference convened by the People's Suffrage Federation, at Essex Hall, London, on June 8th.

From point of numbers, the Conference was most successful, over 300 delegates being present. The Chairman, Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., reviewed the position of the question of Adult Suffrage, since the Prime Minister's speech on November 7th, 1911, and emphasised the position of himself and colleagues of the Labour Party, if the franchise was not extended to women.

Mr. W. C. Anderson, I.L.P., moved and Mr. W. S. Glyn-Jones, M.P., seconded, the first resolution, which was carried unanimously.

"That this Conference declares that Adult Suffrage for both men and women is the only effectual and democratic solution of the electoral problem, and that the time has come to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on all adult men and women on a short residential qualification."

Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., moved and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., seconded the second resolution submitted to the Conference.

"That this Conference calls upon the Government to introduce with as little delay as possible, the Reform Bill promised for this Session by the Prime Minister on November 7th, in order that opportunity may be given for effective legislation and to enable the House of Commons to extend the Suffrage to women during the present Parliament."

This was carried unanimously also. The Conference should strengthen the position of Adult Suffrage in Parliament during discussion on the Reform Bill.

J. J. STEPHENSON.

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE BALKAN SITUATION.

The three undersigned, appointed as your delegation, attended the "War against War" conference, at Basle, on Sunday and Monday, November 24th and 25th.

Twenty-three countries were represented by 555 delegates. France headed the list with 127, Germany coming next with 75. Then followed Bohemia with 70, Austria 59, Switzerland 49, Russia 36, and Belgium 32. The British section comprised 13, being four from the I.L.P., three from the Labour Party, three from the B.S.P., and the Steel Smelters' Union one while Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. F. W. Goldstone represented the Bureau, the latter substituting Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Throughout the proceedings were characterised by an intensity of purpose, a remarkable unanimity, and an impressive enthusiasm. Points of speculative difference were studiously avoided, and with one accord this large and varied gathering concentrated on the one question of preventing an outbreak of war between nations, whose peoples have no quarrel with each other, but are animated by common aims and aspirations. Perhaps the gathering would be more fittingly described as a demonstration than a conference. Exigencies of time admitted of little debate. Only one speaker from a section took part. Evidence of the wonderful unity which prevailed was found in the way smaller nationalities grouped themselves and agreed upon a speaker to represent them. Mr. Keir Hardie spoke for our section. Contrary to expectation the conference concluded on the Monday evening, this being attributable to the anxiety of the Austrian delegates to return home, consequent upon the receipt of disquieting war news.

The conference assembled on the Sunday morning and proceeded to arrange certain necessary preliminaries. Then ensued addresses of welcome, including one from the local municipality.

In the afternoon a procession was formed, being headed by cyclists and local Socialist children, behind which came the delegates according to nationality, followed by thousands of demonstrators, many of whom, both men and women, had travelled by special trains from the surrounding countries. In splendid order and with perfect decorum this peace army marched to the Cathedral, where speeches were delivered by International representatives. That such a purpose should be served in an ecclesiastical building is worthy of note. The authorities of the Basle church have established a precedent which may well be universally followed, for assuredly the cause of mutual understanding and concord is of true religion.

On the Monday copies of the proposed resolution were placed in the hands of delegates. This declared that in the case of war being imminent the working classes and their Parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned should, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, do all they can to prevent war breaking out, using the means which appear to them most efficacious. It acknowledged that methods must naturally vary according to the conditions in each country. Should war ensue notwithstanding, its speedy termination must be aimed at, and every effort made to rouse the people to the overthrow of those classes whose domination is responsible for conflict.

Accompanying the resolution was a statement on the war in the Balkans.\* In the course of this the International calls upon the people of Great Britain, France, and Germany to demand from their governments an undertaking to refuse support to either Austria or Russia and to preserve a strict neutrality.

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\* See page 125.

The opinion was also expressed that the greatest danger to European Peace is the artificially-fostered animosity between Great Britain and Germany. As a means of better understanding an arrest of the increase of their respective fleets and the suppression of the capture of private property at sea was advocated. The working-classes of the two countries were enjoined to persist in the endeavours to overcome all outstanding differences, for thereby the greatest obstacle to International Peace would be removed.

Both the resolution and the manifesto were unanimously adopted, and the conference dispersed amid scenes which left no doubt that the gospel of peace was winning adherents among all those nationalities which are brought together under the Labour Flag.

Your delegates agree that this conference was of tremendous import and significance, and each hold it the finest International gathering either has attended.

GEO. H. ROBERTS.

BEN TURNER.

J. J. STEPHENSON.

### THE "DAILY CITIZEN."

The most gratifying and welcome feature of Labour activity to be placed on record this year is the issue of the "Daily Citizen." It will be remembered that the prospectus of "Labour Newspapers, Ltd." was issued while the last Annual Conference was in session at Birmingham. The response to the appeal for capital, although handicapped to a considerable extent by the industrial unsettlement and its consequent financial strain upon the Unions, was sufficiently satisfactory to enable the Board of Directors to go ahead with the preparations for publication. The first number appeared on October 8th, and was immediately welcomed by the movement as the long-wished-for expression of working-class opinion. Its reception in the world of journalism was no less hearty, as it was recognised by the press generally that the "Citizen" was not only a fighting weapon for Labour, but also a first-class newspaper. The assistance which the "Daily Citizen" rendered to the workers involved in the Hollow-ware Dispute clearly demonstrated the value of a paper owned and controlled by the Labour Movement. We appeal therefore to the whole of our affiliated organisations to give the "Daily Citizen" every possible support.

### MATTERS REMITTED FROM LAST CONFERENCE, 1912.

#### EIGHT HOURS' DAY DEMONSTRATIONS.

Owing to the Autumn Session and the general pressure of Parliamentary work upon the Members of the Party throughout the year, it has been impossible to organise any effective series of demonstrations on this subject, although it has received attention at various meetings held in the constituencies and Members themselves have dealt with it in the course of their ordinary engagements.

#### ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

The Executive Committee at its meeting in February discussed the question of Anglo-German relations, and recommended that it should form the chief topic at the various May Day demonstrations to be held throughout the country. They further suggested that the following draft resolution should be adapted for this purpose, and copies were

forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs by various local organisations :—

" That the provision by the German and British people each year of an ever-increasing proportion of their wealth, their manhood, and their scientific knowledge for the construction of gigantic armaments, which become obsolete almost as soon as they are constructed, involves an enormous waste of national and international resources and constitutes an ever-present menace to goodwill between the peoples ;

That the prevailing interests of the workers and the commercial classes in both countries are not bounded by national frontiers but are so mutually dependent that any outbreak of hostilities would not only be a crime against civilisation but would inflict lasting injury upon both the British and German democracies and would retard the growing sentiment of international friendship throughout Europe ;

It is therefore desirable that all disputes between this country and Germany should be subjected to an appeal to arbitration, thus securing that the spirit of emulation and rivalry at present expended in warlike, wasteful and destructive competition should be diverted into more peaceful, permanent, and constructive purposes of science, commerce, and social progress."

#### GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST WAR.

The Executive remitted this subject to a Sub-Committee and it was also brought before the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, which has issued a Memorandum to every section of the Movement, but the replies are not yet complete. (See Appendix V., page 123.)

#### INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.

The Executive, in common with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, received instructions to approach the Prime Minister with the view to the setting up of a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject of Industrial Insurance, and correspondence is now taking place with the object of a Joint Deputation representing both bodies being received by the Premier.

#### OSBORNE BILL.

At the Joint Meeting of the Parliamentary Party and the Executive Committee at the opening of the Session it was agreed that first place in the Ballot for Bills should be given to our own measure for the Reversal of the Osborne Judgment. Unfortunately, no date was secured, and all that has been possible has been to give consideration to the Trade Unions (No. 2) Bill introduced by the Government. This secured a Second Reading on August 6th by 234 votes to 134. The Bill was sent to a Grand Committee, upon which the Party was represented by five Members, and their efforts to bring the Government proposals more into harmony with the demands of the Trade Union Movement have been generally and warmly acknowledged. The Executive met with the Parliamentary Party to consider the Bill in the form in which it is to be reported to the House, but as it did not concede the full demands of the Movement it was agreed that a Special National Conference should be called to decide the action of the Parliamentary Party. The Special Conference was held on January 3rd under the auspices of the Joint Board, when between 400 and 500 delegates attended, and by

346 votes to 76 adopted a Report in favour of accepting the Bill as an instalment of the Trade Union demand, and instructed the three National Committees to wait upon the Prime Minister for the purpose of urging that the Bill should, if necessary, receive the protection of the Parliament Act.

#### NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT.

In accordance with an undertaking given at the Birmingham Conference, the Executive has considered the desirability of the National Agent's Report being open for discussion at the Annual Conferences. The Executive decided in favour of the proposal, and accordingly Mr. Peters' Report is embodied herewith :—

I beg to submit my fifth annual report for your consideration.

Immediately following the last Annual Conference attention was given to the new scheme for assisting local agents and organisations, the regulations being eventually approved and forwarded to the local Parties concerned. As the scheme is still in its infancy, it is too early to gauge accurately the results we are entitled to expect, although it has already led to new agents being appointed. The periodical reports that will now reach the Head Office, tested by careful inquiry, will prove an immense advantage in keeping local and central organisation in closer touch.

The number of constituencies possessing divisional Labour Parties continues to increase. During the year Glasgow has formed a new central organisation covering the whole of the city area, which bids fair to become a valuable acquisition to our forces.

Further attention has been given to the various mining constituencies, including Holmfirth and Nuneaton. In the former division our future success depends entirely upon the setting up of complete machinery throughout the area and several conferences have been held with that object in view. Much time and money have been expended in Nuneaton, but the response from the Warwickshire Miners has been in no way comparable with the warm support accorded by the other Societies, who have now formed the nucleus of a Divisional organisation.

**BYE-ELECTIONS.**—As will be seen from another part of the Executive Committee's Report the Party has engaged in four bye-elections during the year, making eight in all since the General Election. At Holmfirth, Hanley, and Midlothian I undertook the duties of Election Agent, whilst at Crewe the work was ably carried through by Councillor Egerton P. Wake, of Barrow-in-Furness. During the later stages of this fight I was able to visit the constituency and render assistance. In all these contests we have received very valuable help from the Women's Labour League and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

**CONFERENCES.**—I have attended conferences or meetings for electoral or organisation purposes in the following constituencies :—

Wolverhampton.	Birkenhead.	Edinburgh.
Holmfirth.	Hanley.	Glasgow.
Llanelli.	Crewe.	Aberdeen.
Forest of Dean.	East Carmarthen.	Dundee.
West Fife.	Midlothian.	West Hull.
Osgoldcross.	Wigan.	N.E. Manchester.
Gorton.	Ecclles.	

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.—This year the Borough Council contests throughout the country created considerable interest. The results, notwithstanding the attacks against which the local Parties had to contend, were very gratifying and afford proof that where proper attention is given to preliminary organisation success invariably follows. Still better results would have been achieved had some of our local organisations concentrated upon fewer seats. The largely increased number of candidates, of course, is partly due to the triennial elections of the London Borough Councils, which took place this year.

The following are the tabulated results, together with those for the five previous years :—

	1912.	No. of Candidates.	Elected.	Gains.	Losses.	Net Gains.
Labour & I.L.P.	..	463 ..	150 ..	58 ..	19 ..	39
B.S.P.	..	95 ..	11 ..	2 ..	1 ..	1
Undefined	..	38 ..	3 ..	3 ..	1 ..	2
		596 ..	164 ..	63 ..	21 ..	42
1911	..	367 ..	157 ..	95 ..	17 ..	79
1910	..	330 ..	113 ..	52 ..	19 ..	33
1909	..	555 ..	122 ..	55 ..	32 ..	23
1908	..	397 ..	109 ..	45 ..	78 ..	33*
1907	..	340 ..	56 ..	45 ..	35 ..	10

\* Net Loss.

REGISTRATION.—Our Party Agents have again rendered effective service in the Revision Courts covering our various constituencies. The reports which have reached me from these areas indicate the increasing attention this valuable and necessary work is now receiving. Our new Agents have been cordially welcomed, and generally speaking the Revising Barristers have acknowledged the helpful services of the representatives of our Party in their Courts.

The new machinery proposed to be set up by the Government's Franchise Bill is receiving careful study and the progress of the measure, particularly through its Committee stage, will be keenly watched.

My holiday visit to Germany in September enabled me to obtain some useful information upon methods of organisation from several prominent members of the Party in that country.

I am encouraged to learn from many directions that the work of this department has met with much acceptance. My best thanks are again tendered to the various local officials for their assistance.

ARTHUR PETERS, *National Agent.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

Since 1906 the successive Chairmen of the Parliamentary Party have presented Reports of Parliamentary work to the Conference, but these reports have never been open for discussion. It was stated on behalf of the Executive at Birmingham that this matter should also receive consideration during the year. The Executive appointed a Sub-Committee to consult with representatives of the Parliamentary Party. They recommended that instead of the Chairman of the Party presenting a signed report, a record of the Party's work should be

prepared, and appear as an Appendix to the Executive Committee's Report, and be open for discussion by the delegates. This proposal was approved by the Executive, and the Parliamentary Report for 1912 is, therefore, appended herewith.

### PARTY DISCIPLINE.

In consequence of reports received from affiliated organisations with regard to what were deemed to be violations of the constitution in the country and acts of Party disloyalty in the House of Commons, we have carefully considered the importance and need for the observance of stricter discipline. We assume that if a Member of Parliament desires to remain connected with any Party, he must observe to that Party such loyalty as will justify him expecting to receive its "Whips" and take part in its work. We, therefore, recommend the Conference to agree to the following proposals :—

1. Cases of alleged violation of the constitution in the country shall be at once reported to the Member concerned and unless his answer is satisfactory he shall be informed that his action is being reported to the organisation to which he is responsible. Should no satisfactory explanation be forthcoming from either the Member or his organisation, the matter shall be reported to a joint meeting of the Executive and the Parliamentary Party who shall be empowered to withdraw the "Whips" either temporarily or permanently.

2. When in the opinion of the Parliamentary Party any Member is guilty of an act of disloyalty calculated to injure the effectiveness of the Party such Member shall be requested to explain his conduct to the Party. Should the explanation be considered unsatisfactory by a majority of the meeting, the case shall be reported to the organisation to which the Member is responsible. The reply if not satisfactory shall be discussed by a joint meeting of the Executive and the Parliamentary Party who shall be empowered to withdraw the "Whips" either temporarily or permanently.

GEORGE H. ROBERTS, *Chairman.*

TOM FOX, *Vice-Chairman.*

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Treasurer.*

W. C. ANDERSON.

J. R. CLYNES.

JOHN HODGE.

T. LOWTH.

H. ORBELL.

EDW. R. PEASE.

W. C. ROBINSON.

J. J. STEPHENSON.

BEN TURNER.

P. WALLS.

STEPHEN WALSH.

R. J. WILSON.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary.*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES.

The Executive Committee was called together on ten occasions during 1912 and 1913, and owing to the sittings sometimes covering two or more days, the total possible attendances were sixteen. The members have attended as follows :—

G. H. Roberts ( <i>Chairman</i> )	..	..	15
T. Fox ( <i>Vice-Chairman</i> )	..	..	12
W. C. Anderson ..	..	..	15
J. R. Clynes ..	..	..	15
*J. Keir Hardie ..	..	..	8
J. Hodge ..	..	..	14
T. Lowth ..	..	..	13
J. Ramsay MacDonald ..	..	..	12
H. Orbell ..	..	..	10
Edw. R. Pease ..	..	..	16
W. C. Robinson ..	..	..	16
J. J. Stephenson ..	..	..	16
Ben Turner ..	..	..	15
R. J. Wilson ..	..	..	8
P. Walls ..	..	..	14
Stephen Walsh ..	..	..	14
Arthur Henderson ( <i>Secretary</i> )	..	..	16

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\* Mr. J. Keir Hardie resigned December 5th, 1912.

# STATEMENT OF

## INCOME.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances, January 1st, 1912 :—						
General Fund .. .. ..	834	3	9			
Ramsay MacDonald Testimonial Fund .. ..	135	7	0			
Parliamentary Fund .. ..	13206	0	5½			
Special Appeal Fund .. .. ..	13	2	6			
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Parliamentary Fund Contributions (January, 1912) ..				14188	13	8½
Affiliation Fees .. .. ..				1408	14	0
Special Fund Contributions .. .. ..				3861	17	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
SALES :—						
Conference Reports .. .. ..	208	2	3			
Leaflets .. .. ..	107	4	8			
Canvass Cards .. .. ..	61	19	7			
Posters .. .. ..	7	10	8			
Claim Forms .. .. ..	19	9	2			
Street Boxes .. .. ..	4	2	0			
Canvass Books .. .. ..	2	12	0			
“Labour Unrest” .. .. ..	84	10	11			
“Trade Unions and the Insurance Act” .. ..	12	3	9			
“Handy Notes” .. .. ..	3	9	3			
“Notes on Organisation” .. .. ..	1	10	2			
“Quarterly Circulars” .. .. ..	13	4	7			
“The Case for the Labour Party” .. ..	7	9	6			
“Life and Labour in Germany” .. .. ..	11	10	6			
Parliamentary Records .. .. ..	5	0	0			
Election Forms .. .. ..	4	5	6			
Miscellaneous .. .. ..	25	1	11			
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Refund of Deposit for Albert Hall Demonstration ..				579	6	5
,, Parliamentary Maintenance .. ..				50	0	0
,, Loans .. .. ..				100	0	0
,, Returning Officers’ Fees .. .. ..				800	0	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
DELEGATES’ FEES :—				6	17	2
Birmingham Conference .. .. ..	56	0	0			
London Conference .. .. ..	62	15	0			
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Subscriptions to Ramsay MacDonald Testimonial Fund ..				118	15	0
Charges and Donations for Services of National Agent .. .. ..				74	13	0
Bank Interest .. .. ..				108	8	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
				203	15	10
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
				£21529	7	10½

# ACCOUNTS, 1912.

## EXPENDITURE.

			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Refunded Affiliation Fee .. .. ..						69	0	0	
LITERATURE (Printing, &c.) :—									
Conference Reports .. .. ..			198	13	0				
Leaflets .. .. ..			48	8	4				
Canvass Cards .. .. ..			20	2	6				
Claim Forms .. .. ..			1	2	6				
" Handy Notes " .. .. ..			22	0	0				
" Labour Unrest " .. .. ..			44	8	6				
" Trade Unions and the Insurance Act " .. .. ..			12	0	10				
" Quarterly Circulars " .. .. ..			29	15	0				
Miscellaneous Printing, &c. .. .. ..			26	14	0				
Executive Committee Meetings .. .. ..			201	0	9				
Sub-Committee Meetings .. .. ..			13	1	6				
Deputations and Special District Conferences									
CONFERENCE EXPENSES :—									
Birmingham Conference .. .. ..			152	19	10				
London Conference .. .. ..			28	12	6				
Refunded Delegate's Fee .. .. ..						181	12	4	
INTERNATIONAL :—						0	5	0	
Subscription to Bureau .. .. ..			50	0	0				
Delegation to Basle Congress .. .. ..			56	13	1				
Miscellaneous .. .. ..			7	5	6				
						113	18	7	
ELECTIONS :—									
Crewe Bye-Election .. .. ..			621	19	10				
Returning Officers' Fees (Holmfirth, Hanley, and Midlothian) .. .. ..			127	5	7				
Manifestoes, &c. .. .. ..			59	6	6½				
National Agent's Honorariums .. .. ..			50	0	0				
						858	11	11½	
SALARIES :—									
Secretary .. .. ..			150	0	0				
Assistant Secretary .. .. ..			200	0	0				
National Agent .. .. ..			200	0	0				
Parliamentary Assistant .. .. ..			193	12	8				
Clerks, &c. .. .. ..			302	13	2				
Standing Counsel's Honorarium .. .. ..						1046	5	10	
Expenses of Audit, 1911 .. .. ..						21	15	0	
Invested in "Labour Newspapers Ltd." .. .. ..						15	9	0	
Grant to Women's Labour League .. .. ..						6000	0	0	
Loan to British Section of International Bureau .. .. ..						100	0	0	
Subsidies to Local Labour Parties, &c. .. .. ..						100	0	0	
Ramsay MacDonald Testimonial (Solomon J. Solomon, R.A., for Oil Paintings) .. .. ..						174	5	0	
OFFICE EXPENSES :—						210	0	0	
Rent .. .. ..			160	1	11				
Lighting, Cleaning, &c. .. .. ..			42	17	6				
Alterations, Furnishing, &c. .. .. ..			83	4	8½				
Postage .. .. ..			125	10	8				
Telegrams .. .. ..			7	14	5				
Carriage .. .. ..			35	11	2				
Telephone .. .. ..			13	10	0				
Press Cuttings .. .. ..			6	6	0				
Stationery .. .. ..			49	11	10½				
Miscellaneous .. .. ..			52	7	9				
National Agent's Expenses .. .. ..							576	16	0
PARLIAMENTARY EXPENSES :—							35	10	1½
Postage .. .. ..			20	16	6½				
Miscellaneous .. .. ..			14	19	10				
Bank Charges .. .. ..							35	16	4½
							0	9	8
Balance in Bank .. .. ..			11184	17	4				
Cash in hand .. .. ..			41	10	10				
							10302	19	8½
							11226	8	2
							£21529	7	10½

#### AUDITORS' REPORT.

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With pleasure we report to the Annual Conference of the National Labour Party that we have examined the Accounts, along with the Vouchers, Bank Books, and Balances, and have found them correct and in good order.

We wish to express our appreciation of the care devoted in keeping the books in the satisfactory condition we saw them, and of the courtesy of the officials which made our task more pleasant than it otherwise would have been.

JAMES BELL,  
ROBERT BROWN, } *Auditors.*

*January 7th, 1913.*

## PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

The Members of the Parliamentary Party, together with the members of the National Executive, met at the opening of the Session for the purpose of electing officers and deciding on the Bills and Motions for which the Party should make itself responsible during the Session.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald was re-elected Chairman; Mr. Jas. Parker was elected Vice-Chairman; Mr. Chas. Duncan was elected Secretary; Mr. G. H. Roberts was re-elected Chief Whip; and Mr. Joseph Pointer was elected Junior Whip. Later on Mr. F. W. Goldstone was appointed third Whip.

### BILLS.

It was decided the following Bills should be balloted for in the order given:—Trade Union Law Amendment; Right to Work; Education (Administrative Provisions); Eight Hours' Day; Railway Nationalisation; Compulsory Weighing; Eviction of Workmen during Trade Disputes; Blind Aid; and Local Authorities (Enabling).

The Party's ill fortune in the ballot in previous Sessions was continued in this, not a single day being secured. The Trade Union Law Amendment, Right to Work, and Education (Administrative Provisions) Bills were re-introduced but made no progress. The short Bill to legalise the feeding of school children during holidays, introduced last Session, was again brought forward, but although the Government declared their agreement with it, no time was allotted to secure its passage. The Government have been pressed many times and the Party's efforts were not relaxed until it was absolutely certain that there was no chance whatever for the Bill. The opposition is confined to a handful of Conservative members, and it is regrettable that such slight opposition should prevent the passage of a useful measure.

### MOTIONS.

A long list of subjects to be balloted for as Motions was adopted, the three having priority being a General 30s. Minimum Wage, Mal-administration of the Fair Wages Clause, and Railway and Canal Nationalisation. Not a single evening, however, was secured in the ballot.

### THE INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

A motion was moved by a Liberal Member in the following terms:—

“That this House is of opinion that the recent industrial disturbances show the necessity of a thorough and authoritative investigation into the causes of the present Industrial Unrest and into possible remedies therefor, and, in view of the prospective recurrence of such disturbances, calls upon the Government to prosecute such investigation by all appropriate means and in the speediest manner compatible with adequate inquiry into the issues involved.”

The Party considered that the facts relating to the prevailing unrest were already well enough known and it moved the following amendment :—

“ That this House is of opinion that the recent industrial disturbances are caused by a deplorable insufficiency of wages, which has persisted notwithstanding a great expansion of national wealth and a considerable increase in the cost of living, and shows the necessity for preventing the continuance of such unequal division of the fruits of industry by legislation securing the right to work, a maximum eight-hours’ working day, a minimum living wage, and the nationalisation of railways, mines, land, and other monopolies ; this House is therefore adverse to the delays of further inquiries which only allow the public to forget the pressing nature of the unrest, and calls upon the Government to introduce legislation with the least possible delay.”

Owing to the shortness of time, and to the restricted scope of the debate, however, the House did not come to a decision on the matter.

#### THE KING’S SPEECH.

The King’s Speech, besides enumerating the several Bills which are mentioned in this Report, referred with grave concern to the prospect of disputes between employers and workmen, and trusted that a reasonable spirit might prevail on both sides and avoid developments that would seriously affect the trade of the country and the welfare of the people.

The Party moved the following amendment :—

“ But humbly represent to Your Majesty that this House regrets that, having regard to the existing industrial unrest arising from a deplorable insufficiency of wages, which has persisted notwithstanding a great expansion of national wealth, and a considerable increase in the cost of living, Your Majesty’s Gracious Speech contains no specific mention of legislation securing a minimum living wage and for preventing a continuance of such unequal division of the fruits of industry by the nationalisation of railways, mines, and other monopolies.”

As an amendment to this a Conservative Member moved the following :—

“ To leave out the latter portion dealing with legislation and insert :—

“ ‘ Your Majesty’s Ministers are not taking steps to forward the fair and equitable division between capital and labour in the profits of industry by co-partnership which would unite their interests and enormously add to the productive capacity of the country, cheapen the cost of commodities, increase this country’s power of competing in all other markets, and give to wage-earners a human interest in life and work and place them on a moral equality with every other class.’ ”

Both Amendments were defeated, the figures in the division on the Party’s Amendment being 45 for, and 226 against.

## EMPLOYMENT UNDER GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.

On the Army Estimates the Party moved :—

“That in the opinion of this House, the conditions of service of Government employees should be in every respect at least equal to those observed by the best private employers or by local public authorities doing similar work, and that, in interpreting the Fair Wages Clause in assigning contracts, responsible officials should be instructed to see that the spirit of the Clause is properly carried out when the actual wording gives room for some doubt.”

The terms of this Motion are identical with one that was moved in the Session of 1910. On that occasion the Government promised to refer the question of wages to the Advisory Committee. The result has been to secure slight increases, but the Government is still far from being a model employer and the administration of the Fair Wages Clause is a constant cause of complaint. The Party therefore took the motion to a division, 99 voting for and 129 against.

The Party has experienced very great difficulty in getting effect given to the Fair Wages Clause. The invariable practice of almost all the Government Departments is to shield the anti-trade union and sweating employers. Facts are challenged, delay ensues, and often while inquiry is said to be proceeding the work is finished. All this shows the need for drastic alteration in the administration of Government Departments.

### THE COAL STRIKE AND THE COAL MINES (MINIMUM WAGE) BILL.

A very important part of the Party's work during the Session was in connection with the national strike of miners. Throughout the dispute the Party was in close touch with the Miners' Federation and carried out all the wishes of the Federation to the best of its ability. In order to settle the strike the Government brought forward a Bill to establish a minimum wage for miners, but no precise figures were set forth. The Party therefore moved an amendment fixing the minimum at 5s. a day for adults other than piece-workers, and 2s. a day for boys. The Government refused to accept this proposal and it was rejected. Other amendments were moved with a view to improving the Bill, and some were carried. In consequence of the defeat of the 5s. and 2s. amendment, however, the miners in conference advised opposition to the Third Reading of the Bill and the Party acted accordingly.

### THE PORT OF LONDON STRIKE AND THE INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS BILL.

This dispute also played an important part in the work of the Session and it is a matter for regret that the result was unsatisfactory. The Party did all it could to help the men, and during the latter part of the dispute had a representative on the Strike Committee. The strike was really due to certain employers in the port not observing agreements come to between representatives of the employers and employed. In consultation with the Transport Workers' Federation, the Party put forward a proposal that where an agreement had been come to between

representatives of employers and employed it should be made legally binding on the whole of the trade in the district, and a Bill on these lines applying to the Port of London only was subsequently introduced. It should be clearly understood that the sole object of the Bill was to enforce an existing voluntary agreement on any section in the district that was unorganised and unrepresented at the conference where such agreement was come to. The agreement would presumably be for a certain term, and the workmen would not or need not accept any agreement which would render them powerless in the event of a new situation arising. Therefore, the Right to Strike was in no way infringed except in so far as an agreement voluntarily come to might specify. The Bill made no progress, but the Government declared its intention of introducing a measure dealing with industrial disputes. The Industrial Council have taken evidence on the subject of the fulfilment and enforcement of agreements, and possibly the Report of the Council will be the basis of the Bill.

#### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL AND ESTABLISHED CHURCH (WALES) BILL.

The Session has been mainly taken up with fulfilling pledges given in respect to three big political measures, two of which were the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills. In respect to these the Party generally had made most definite promises to the constituencies and it did its best to get the measures carried and put out of the way.

#### FRANCHISE AND REGISTRATION BILL.

This Bill has not reached such an advanced stage but is now going through Committee. The Party has amendments down to secure full Adult Suffrage, a three months' qualification, and the repeal of the pauper disqualification. These the Party will endeavour to get carried.

#### TRADE UNIONS BILL.

From the Party's special point of view the chief Bill of the Session was the Trade Unions (No. 2) Bill. This Bill did not seek to reverse the Osborne Judgment but it gave the unions power to add political objects to their rules provided that a majority of the members by ballot had so decided. It also gave to members who objected to pay to the Parliamentary Fund the right to withhold payment altogether. The Party was represented on the Committee which dealt with the Bill by the Chairman and Messrs. Bowerman, Brace, Gill, and Wardle, and several amendments were secured which made the working of the Bill easier to trade unions. As the Bill did not completely reverse the Osborne Judgment, however, the Party felt that a meeting of the three National Executives should be held to consider whether the Bill should be accepted or not. This was held on December 5th last when the three Executives decided to call a special National Conference of delegates to consider the matter. This action having been taken, it is unnecessary to go into further detail here. All that need be said is that the Party exerted every effort to improve the Bill and to secure its passage under the terms of the Parliament Act should it be acceptable, to the Movement.

## RAILWAYS BILL.

In pursuance of a promise given by the Government to the railway companies at the time of the railway strike, a Bill was introduced empowering the companies to increase their rates and charges to an extent sufficient to cover any extra cost entailed by the improved conditions of service of the employees. The Bill as it was worded threw the onus of proof on any aggrieved person that an increased rate or charge was out of proportion to the extra cost incurred by the company, and there were other objectionable proposals which need not be enumerated as the Bill was subsequently withdrawn. Another Bill of only one Clause has been substituted and it provides that it shall lie with the company to prove that any proposed increase is justifiable. This Bill is not so objectionable as the first, but the Party has decided to oppose it on the ground that the railway companies have largely recouped themselves for any concessions they may have given to their employees. In addition the Party is opposed to giving further powers to monopolies because trade union action has resulted in securing improved conditions of service for the employees.

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

The Party appointed a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister to urge the necessity for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the older universities, particularly with regard to endowments and other sources of income. This is a matter which has been before the Conference several times, and although a definite reply has not yet been received from the Prime Minister, it is hoped that the Party's efforts will be successful.

## EDUCATION.

At the Birmingham Conference a resolution was carried requesting the Party to appoint a committee to consider the general question of educational reform and draw up a report thereon. The committee was to consider

- (1) A modification of the curriculum in Primary Schools, in order that in the later years of school life more time may be given to instruction in the duties of citizenship ;
- (2) The raising of the school-leaving age to 16 years, and the right of children in Primary and Secondary Schools to maintenance allowances ;
- (3) The limiting of the hours of boy and girl labour up to the age of 18 to 30 per week, so as to provide 20 or more hours per week for physical, technological, and general training ;
- (4) The establishment of Medical Treatment centres in connection with each Primary School or Group of Schools.

The Education Committee of the Party have had the matter in hand and have prepared a report, but the pressure of work has been so great that the Party has not yet had time to consider it carefully prior to adoption. The terms of the resolution were so broad and comprehensive that full consideration must be given to the report before it is presented to Conference.

## POLICY AND PROPAGANDA.

The Party has considered the political situation and its bearing upon Parliamentary action and energetic propagandist efforts throughout the country in the immediate future. Committees have been appointed to consider the drafting and introduction of Bills dealing with the Nationalisation of Mines and Railways, the problem of poverty on the lines of the recommendation of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, the abolition of sweating by the development of the Trade Boards Act, extensive housing reform, a further application of the taxation of unearned incomes, the compulsory feeding and medical treatment of school children throughout the year, and a general reduction in the hours of labour.

Moreover, recognising the need for greater attention being given to the conditions of the agricultural labourer and for adopting a definite policy with regard to land reform, the Party appointed a special committee of inquiry. The committee is considering the problem of rural housing, the importance and practicability of fixing a minimum wage for agricultural labourers, the extension of small holdings, the putting of land to its best use, and the questions of taxation and public ownership. In order that the inquiry may be full and complete the committee is taking evidence and examining schemes in the hope that the proposals in its report may be practical and comprehensive.

To assist in giving effect to the position stated it is proposed that special propagandist meetings and conferences be organised throughout the country, and that a Joint Committee, representing the National Executive, the Parliamentary Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, be formed to carry out a united campaign.

With reference to the practice that has hitherto been adopted of deciding at the beginning of Sessions upon long lists of subjects for resolutions and bills, the Party think it would be advantageous to give Members a freer hand than they have hitherto had with reference to these matters; that if any one Bill is of pressing importance to the Party (for instance, Taff Vale or Osborne) it may be made a Party Bill and the first Party place given to it; but otherwise that Members should have freedom of choice so that the special needs of constituencies might be consulted more than they have been, and Members might have resolutions and bills in which they take special interest.

## GENERAL.

The Party was represented as usual on the various important Committees that were appointed during the Session to deal with public business.

During the year Mr. Lansbury resigned his seat and his membership of the Party, and on seeking re-election was defeated. The Executive deals with this matter in its Report from its own point of view.\*

From the standpoint of the Parliamentary Party, Mr. Lansbury's action raised the question as to how far colleagues should co-operate with each other in observing decisions come to at the Party meetings.

Discipline has never been enforced to the extent of compelling individual members to sink their own personal views when they held them very strongly, but Mr. Lansbury's conduct had amounted to frequent disregard of Party arrangements, and the Party feels very strongly that if it became general coherent action would cease altogether. The Party understands that the Executive is making recommendations on this subject, but it feels that the Conference, knowing that the whole existence of the Party is at stake, will give no uncertain expression of opinion that loyalty to colleagues is essential if a Labour Party of any force is to remain inside the House of Commons.

Signed on behalf of the Parliamentary Party,

JAS. PARKER (*Acting Chairman*).

CHAS. DUNCAN (*Secretary*).

List of Societies affiliated to the Labour Party. Number of Members, and Amounts paid for 1912, with Names and Addresses of Secretaries and of Delegates to the LONDON CONFERENCE, 1913.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Army Ordnance Department Employees' Union, Weedon	90	.. 10 0 ..	H. Ganderton, Bridge Street, Weedon, .. Northants.	—
Assurance Agents, Prudential	3048	.. 12 14 0 ..	D. Jones, 44, Sefton Terrace, Leeds.	D. Jones, Secretary.
Bakers of Scotland, National	5200	.. 21 13 4 ..	T. Reid, 5, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.	James McDermid, J.P., 156, George Street, Glasgow.
Federated Union of Operative Bakers' Union, London Jewish	..	..	David Haggart, 4, Kilnside Road, Paisley.	Peter McDonald, 6, View Terrace, Aberdeen.
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, &c., National Federation of	160	.. 13 4 ..	I. Sharp, 13, Tenter Street, S., Goodmansfields, London, E.	I. Sharp, Secretary.
Block, Roller, and Stamp Cutters, Amalgamated Society of	10000	.. 41 13 4 ..	Ald. P. Walls, York Place, Workington.	Alderman P. Walls, Secretary.
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, United Society of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	..	..	Thomas McKenna, 87, Borough Road, Middlesbrough.	Thomas McKenna, 87, Borough Road, Middlesbrough.
Boot and Shoe Makers, London and Provincial Hand Sewn	314	.. 1 6 2 ..	J. Nuttall, J.P., 75, Great Cheetaham .. Street West, Broughton, Manchester.	—
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	—	.. 50 0 ..	J. Hill, Lifton House, Eshington Road, .. Newcastle-on-Tyne.	—
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	7000	.. 29 3 ..	J. Kelly, Campfield Chambers, 312, .. Deansgate, Manchester.	J. Kelly, Secretary.
Boots and Shoes, London and Provincial Hand Sewn	450	.. 1 17 6 ..	J. Dickson, 130, Great Titchfield Street, .. London, W.	Wm. H. Quinn, 35, Turkey Lane, Manchester.
Boots and Shoes Operatives, National Union of	40852	.. 170 4 ..	E. L. Poultney, Boot and Shoe Trades .. Hall, St. James Street, Leicester.	Wm. McGhie, 37, Arlington Street, Glasgow.
Boots and Shoes Operatives, National Union of	..	..	..	A. McLeod, 11, Lesbia Road, Clapton, London, N.E.
Boots and Shoes Operatives, National Union of	..	..	..	G. Harraway, 81, Elizabeth Road, East Ham, London, E.

Brass Founders, Turners, Fitters, &c., ..	900	..	3 15 0	..	G. L. Kirkley, 82, Market Street, ..	
United Journeymen (Manchester Branch)					Manchester.	—
Brushmakers, Amalgamated Society of	600	..	2 10 0	..	E. Latchford, 17, Napier Road, Kensal ..	E. Latchford, Secretary.
Builders' Labourers, National Association of	4230	..	18 0	..	Councillor P. Flanagan, 62, Hopwood ..	Councillor P. Flanagan, Secretary.
Cabinet Makers, Amalgamated Union	2811	..	11 14 3	..	F. Smith, 2, Moss Street, Liverpool.	J. Curran, 91, Mansfield Road, Gospel Street, Hull.
Card Setting Machine Tenters' Society	227	..	2 12 10	..	T. Forrest, 227, Two Trees Lane, ..	H. J. Curry, 91, Mansfield Road, Gospel Street, Hull.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of	53242	..	221 16 0	..	F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Brunswick ..	A. Campbell, 33, Gardner Street, Partick, A. Gould, 1, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of	1200	..	5 0 0	..	W. Matkin, J.P., 65, Kennington Oval, ..	S. Hunter, 107, Upper Medlock Street, Hulme, Manchester.
Carpet Weavers, Kidderminster Power Loom Carters, Lutrymcn, and Motor Men's Union, Amalgamated	850	..	13 10 10	..	G. Rawkins, 105, Mill Street, Kidderminster.	A. G. Cameron, 3, Denbigh Road, Hounslow, London.
Chatham Royal Dockyard Smiths' Association	3000	..	27 0	..	John Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	E. H. Jarvis, 109, Grenville Road, Southville, Bristol.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association	112	..	10 0	..	A. E. Drury, 41, Glencoe Road, ..	J. P. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Dublin.
Clerks, National Union of	1546	..	6 8 10	..	Ben Cooper, 54, Clinton Road, Mile ..	E. Scott, 188, Upper Warwick Street, Priuces Road, Liverpool.
Cloggers, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Oldham.	5100	..	21 5 0	..	H. II. Elvin, 186-8, Bishopsgate, ..	David Richards, J.P., 33, Virginia Street, Southport.
	860	..	3 11 8	..	D. Stott, 2, Worsley Street, Glodwick, ..	F. J. H. King, 12, Northholme Road, Highbury, London, N. Kidderminster.
						Frederick Potter, 65, Park Street, Bolton.
						Alfred Grundy, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
						John Driver, 9, Barlow Street, Rawtenstall.
						—

Name of Society	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Clother's Cutters' Trade Union; London and Provincial Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union of Clothlookers and Warehousemen, General Amalgamation of Coachmakers, United Kingdom Society of Coal Trimmers and Tippers, Cardiff, Penarth and Barry	400 ..	5 o s d.	A. Brine, 50, Shernall Street, Walthamstow.	J. Young, Secretary. A. Conley, 148, Briggate, Leeds. Edward Strong, Secretary.
Compositors, London Society of (Per Voluntary Association)	6538 ..	27 4 10 ..	J. Young, Hepworth Chambers, 148, ... Briggate, Leeds.	F. W. Dowdall, 22, Blagrove Road, ... Notting Hill, London, W.
Co-operative Employees, Amalgamated Union of Journeymen	2500 ..	10 8 4 ..	E. Strong, 26, Harcourt Road, Blackburn.	J. T. Clatworthy, 39, Mount Stuart Square, Cardiff.
Core Makers, Amalgamated Society of Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	8000 ..	43 6 8 ..	C. Kinggate, 41, Withington Road, ... Brooks Bar, Manchester.	John Adams, 6, Eyre Street, Cardiff.
Coopers, Mutual Association of Journeymen	2000 ..	8 6 8 ..	S. Fisher, 39, Mount Stuart Square, ... J. T. Clatworthy, 39, Mount Stuart Square, Cardiff.	W. H. Taylor, Secretary.
Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester	4000 ..	16 13 4 ..	T. Nay.or, 79, St. Bride Street, ... London, E.C.	C. W. Bowerman, M.P., 4, Battledean Road, Highbury, London, N.
Co-operative Printing Society, Tudor Street, London, E.C.	.. ..	.. ..	W. H. Taylor, c/o Co-operative Printing Society, Tudor Street, London, E.C.	James Monk, 11, Montrose Road, Penge, London, S.E.
Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester	32500 ..	135 8 4 ..	A. Hewitt, Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester.	George Tams, 7, Alpha Road, New Cross, London, S.E.
Coopers, Mutual Association of Journeymen	4000 ..	16 13 4 ..	G. Harrison, 31, Great Prescott Street, ... London, E.	R. Tannahill, 4, Townhead Terrace, Paisley.
Core Makers, Amalgamated Society of Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	1494 ..	6 4 6 ..	E. Clegg, 550, Liverpool Street, Weaste, ... Manchester.	H. W. Vale, 15, Terry Road, Coventry.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	170 ..	14 2 ..	F. Boorman, 135, St. Mary's Road, ... Tonbridge.	Concillor R. J. Wilson, 4, Sidecliff Road, Roker, Sunderland.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	300 ..	1 5 0 ..	J. G. King, 300, Evelyn Street, Deptford, London, S.E.	G. Harrison, Secretary.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	39000 ..	162 10 0 ..	Ben Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, ... London, E.	W. Peacock, 30, Sheringham Avenue, Manor Park, London, E.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	..	..	..	H. Orbell, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	..	..	..	J. Donovan, 107, Bute Road, Cardiff.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	..	..	..	R. Blundell, 6, Salisbury Buildings, Trafford Road, Salford, Manchester.
Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated Society of Deptford Victualling Yard and West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union	..	..	..	W. Rudd, 31, Alice Street, Newport (Mon.).

Dock Labourers, National Union of	.. 20000 .. 83 6 8 .. Councillor J. Sexton, J.P., 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool.	James Sexton, Secretary.
Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.	..	T. Merrells, Siddal Buildings, Alexandra Road, Swansea.
T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney, Glos.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
F. Sanderson, 7 and 8, Caroline Street, Hull.	..	Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.
James O'Connor Kessack, 3, Dock Street, Leith.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
George Milligan, 5, Brasenose Road, Kirkdale, Liverpool.	..	Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.
F. Sanderson, 7 and 8, Caroline Street, Hull.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
James Keefe, 26, Malta Street, Liverpool.	..	Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.
Robert Nugent, Foresters' Hall, North Quay, Drogeda.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
Michael Reid, 126, Vauxhall Road, Liverpool.	..	Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.
T. H. Dunford, 5, Brasenose Road, Kirkdale, Liverpool.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
Michael McGrath, 56, Commercial Road, Liverpool.	..	Morgan Hopkins, Ship and Castle Hotel, Mumbles, S.O., Swansea.
John Wood, 10, Canning Place, Liverpool.	..	T. J. Powell, 63, Church Road, Lydney.
Elastic Weavers, Leicester and District..	300 .. 1 5 0 .. J. Hordern, 29, Queen Street, Leicester.	..
Electrical Trades Union .	.. 4000 .. 16 13 4 .. J. Rowan, 137, Great Clowes Street, .. Broughton, Manchester.	John Kinnibburgh, 137, Gt. Clowes Street, Broughton, Manchester.
Engineering and Stores (Postal Telegraphs) Association	.. 4000 .. 16 13 4 .. Geo. Young, 15, Church Walk, Northwich, Cheshire.	W. E. Rose, 6, Chaucer Road, Forest Gate, London, E.
Engineers' and Firemen's Union, Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels	.. 1000 .. 4 3 4 .. J. Collins, 8, Riby Square, Grimsby.	A. G. Westley, Block L, 16, Roscoe Street, St. Luke's, London, E.
Engine Attendants and Firemen, Bolton and District	86 .. 10 0 .. Martin Coolaghan, 36, Kestor Street .. Bolton.	J. Collins, Secretary
Engravers to Calico Printers and Paper Stainers' Trade Union	.. — .. — .. C. Kean, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, .. Salford.	—

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation	Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of	111588 ..	Jenkin Jones, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.	..	Jenkin Jones, Secretary.	
		George N. Barnes, M.P., 2, Alderbrook Road, Balham, London, S.W.		Charles Duncan, M.P., 16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.	
		Henry Hopkins, 20, Elizabeth Street, Ilfracombe, Govan.		Tom Proctor, 5, Carbeil Road, Torpoint, R.S.O., Cornwall.	
		Henry Sharp, 12, Chelmsford Avenue, Leeds.		J. A. Turnbull, 11, Bostall Lane, Abbey Wood, Kent.	
		J. J. Stephenson, 3, Crofton Park Road, London, S.E.		T. Goddard, 58, Vere Street, Eccles New Road, Salford.	
Farriers, Amalgamated Society of	1940 ..	W. H. Briggs, 70, St. James' Road, Higher Broughton, Manchester.	8 1 8 ..		
Flaxdressers' Trade and Benevolent Trade Union (Irish)	999 ..	W. Rooney, Engineers' Hall, Belfast.	4 3 3 ..		
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amalgamated Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Amalgamated Society of	1500 ..	A. Gossip, 72, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.	6 2 6 ..	J. O'Grady, M.P., 35, Broxash Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.	
	6220 ..	H. Simpson, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	25 18 4 ..	J. Gregory, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	
Gasworkers and General Labourers, National Union of	69173 ..	Ald. W. Thorre, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, Kings Cross, London, N.	288 4 5 ..	F. Moreby, 29, Trevor Street, Nechells, Birmingham.	
		J. W. Betteridge, " Melville," Swindon Road, Cheltenham.		J. Williams, 7, Bridle Road, Crewe.	
				J. T. Watkins, 246, Elliott Street, Tyldesley, Manchester.	
				C. A. Glyde, Trades Hall, Upper Fountain Street, Leeds.	
				E. Westwood, 131, High Street, Blackheath, Birmingham.	
				R. Kirk, 48, Ethel Road, Rotherham.	
				C. H. Blackburn, 559, Attercliffe Common, Sheffield.	

E. Lowthian,	35,	Collingwood Street.
Carlsile.		
A. R. Price,	1,	Atkinson Road, Fulwell,
Sunderland.		
W. V. Morgan,	6,	Gladstone Buildings,
Alexandria Road,		Swansea.
J. Blanehard,	41,	Newcomen Street, Hull
T. W. Kerr,	2,	Connaught Terrace,
Victoria Street,		Braebridge, Hull.
F. Fishwick,	15,	Athorpe Grove, Vernon
Avenue, Nottingham.		
W. Leary,		Gasworkers' Club, Leeds.
D. Barker,	21,	Tudor Road, Southend-
on-Sea.		
J. O. Callaghan,	124,	Barking Road,
London, E.		
Gildrs' Society, Amalgamated	..	100 .. 10 0 .. W. A. Stratton, "The Crown," 64, ..
Glass Bottlemakers of Yorkshire	..	2181 .. 9 1 9 .. Cleveland Street, London, W.
Government Labourers' Union	..	240 .. 1 0 0 .. A. F. Gilliard, 13, Frederick Street, ..
(Chatham)		Castlefrod.
Government Stores Clerical	..	80 .. 10 0 .. C. Garneys, 183, High Street, Plumstead.
Association		T. J. Pitt, 71, Ceres Road, Plumstead, Kent.
Grinders and Glaziers' Society,	..	712 .. 2 19 4 .. J. Asquith, 14, Nelson Street, Rochdale ..
Amalgamated Machine, Engine,		
and Iron		
Hairdressers' Federation (Northern	..	1000 .. 4 3 4 .. J. Podmore, 8, Rylands Street, ..
Counties)		Warrington.
Hairdressers' Federation (South Wales	..	200 .. 16 8 .. I.L.M. Francis, Barber's Shop, Penydarren, Merthyr Tydfil.
and Monmouthshire)		
Hatters' Amalgamated Society of	..	4095 .. 17 1 3 .. Councillor T. Mallalieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Nr. Manchester.
Journeymen		
Hatters' Fair Trade Union,	..	566 .. 2 7 2 .. T. Mann, 155, Heaton Street, Denton, ..
Journeymen		Manchester.
Headlers' and Twisters' Trade and	..	300 .. 1 5 0 .. J. Bolton, 57, Barcroft Road, Newsome, ..
Friars' Society, Huddersfield		Huddersfield.
Hosiery Union, Ilkeston and District	..	776 .. 3 4 8 .. H. Bassford, 15, Midland Road, .. H. Bassford, Secretary.
Hosiery Union, Leicester	..	1400 .. 5 16 8 .. J. Chaplin, Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street, Leicester.
Ironfounders' Friendly Society of	..	21034 .. — .. W. M. Lawson, 164, Chorlton Road, .. A. Henderson, M.P., 13, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham, London, S.W.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Ironmongers' Association, Central Labour Amalgamation, British	.. 5115 ..	21 6 3 ..	H. Murdoch, 42, New Market Street, Falkirk.	Hugh Murdoch, Secretary. Councillor Angus McLeod, 77, Dorrator Road, Falkirk.
Kew Gardens Employees' Union, Royal	.. 120 ..	10 0 ..	W. Bulpitt, 49, St. George's Road, Richmond, Surrey.	P. O. Daley, 13, Lateward Road, Brentford, Middlesex.
Labour Protection League (No. 14 Branch)	.. 3000 ..	12 10 0 ..	Councillor T. Fox, 12, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.	—
Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated	.. 600 ..	2 10 0 ..	T. R. Jackson, 61, Burrage Road, Plumstead, Kent.	J. Blight, 3, Dawson Street, Plumstead, Kent.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union of	.. 5338 ..	22 4 10 ..	J. Twomey, 1, St. David's Place, Rutland Street, Swansea.	J. H. Davies, 8, Wern Fawr Road, St. Thomas, Swansea.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	.. 49740 ..	207 5 0 ..	J. N. Bell, J.P., 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	R. Sullivan, 55, Odo Street, Hafod, Swansea.
Lithographic Artists, &c., Amalgamated Society of	.. 2418 ..	10 1 6 ..	C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.	Robert Williams, 220, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated Society of	.. 242 ..	1 0 2 ..	Robert Barnes, 20, Cooper Street, Manchester.	J. N. Bell, J.P., Secretary. T. E. Smith, 183, Old Road West, Gravesend, Kent.
Machine Workers' Association, United	.. 4660 ..	19 8 4 ..	T. Sproat, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.	T. Williamson, 4, Tennis Street, St. Helens.
Male Relief Stampers' Trade Society	.. 7236 ..	30 3 0 ..	M. Arrandale, J.P., 48, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.	Councillor J. Timlin, 4, Northumberland Terrace, Willington-Quay-on-Tyne.
Mathematical Instrument Makers	.. 360 ..	10 0 ..	W. G. Cannon, 76, Central Park Road, East Ham, London, E.	W. Stevens, 5, Bridewell Place, London, E.C.
Midwives, National Association of	.. 120 ..	10 0 ..	H. Pasmore, 11, Ancona Road, Highbury, London, N.	M. Arrandale, Secretary. J. E. Blackburn, 12, High Bank, Gorton, Manchester.
			Mrs. E. Gilroy, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.	George Couchman, 22, Hunsdon Road, New Cross, London, S.E.
				Mrs. M. Lawson, 92, Hyde Road, West Gorton, Manchester.

- Larkhall.  
W. E. Harvey, M.P., Miners' Offices,  
Chesterfield.  
Rt. Hon. W. Abraham, M.P., Llantwit  
Major, near Cardiff.  
Thos. Ashton, J.P., 925, Ashton Old  
Road, Manchester.  
H. Smith, Miners' Offices, Barnsley.  
W. Vyee, Miners' Agent, Ebbw Vale,  
Mon.  
E. Morell, Miners' Agent, Troedshuw,  
South Wales.  
W. Whitefield, Miners' Agent, St.  
George's, Bristol.  
J. Murdock, Miners' Offices, Hamilton.  
J. Brown, 56, Annabank, by Ayr.  
C. Bunfield, Miners' Offices, New Basford,  
Nottingham.  
Frank Hall, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield.  
Jesse Butler, J.P., 1, West Bank,  
off Ashton Old Road, Manchester.  
E. Hughes, J.P., Miners' Offices, Bradley  
Road, Wrexham.  
W. Straker, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-  
Tyne.  
S. Finney, Miners' Offices, Burslem,  
Staffs.  
Alderman W. House, Miners' Offices,  
Durham.  
J. Hoskin, Miners' Offices, Barnsley.  
J. Dixon, " " "  
S. Carrington, " " "  
C. E. Senior, " " "  
T. Moakes, " " "  
J. A. Bentley, " " "  
H. Tinker, " " "  
F. Hebdon, " " "  
Stephen Walsh, M.P., 8, Swinley Road,  
Wigan.  
J. E. Sutton, M.P., 79, North Road,  
Clayton.  
H. Twist, J.P., 1, Laurel Grove, Ashton-  
in-Makerfield.  
J. Parkinson, J.P., 25, Millgate, Wigan.

Name of Society.  
Miners' Federation of Great Britain  
(continued)

No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £   s. d.	Secretary and Address.
—	—	—

Delegates and Addresses.

H. Roughley, J.P., 32, Hamilton Street,  
Atherton, Manchester.  
Michael Ledwith, 196, Haresfinch Terrace, St. Helens.  
J. Darlington, 8, Barton Street, Tyldesley, Manchester.  
Dan Lathom, 277, Warrington Road, Pemberton, Wigan.  
John Wilson, 21, Mowbray Place, Cowie, Scotland.  
Wm. Webb, Crichton Park, Falkirk, Scotland.  
J. Doonan, Violetbank, Bathgate, Scotland.  
Vernon Hartshorn, C.C., Miners' Agent, Maesteg, Glam.  
W. Brace, M.P., Newport, Mon.  
T. Richards, M.P., The Lawn, Ninnian Road, Cardiff.  
A. Onions, J.P., Miners' Agent, Tredegar, Mon.  
Jas. Winstone, C.C., Miners' Agent, Pontnewydd, South Wales.  
W. Jenkins, C.C., Cymmer, Port Talbot, South Wales.  
Jas. Manning, C.C., Miners' Agent, Blaina, Mon.  
J. Davies, J.P., Miners' Agent, Dowlais.  
J. Edwards, South Wales Miners' Federation, Cardiff.  
W. Evans, South Wales Miners' Federation, Cardiff.  
D. Thomas, South Wales Miners' Federation, Cardiff.  
T. Lucas, Nythia, Ogmore Vale, South Wales.  
Daniel Morgan, 23, Clive Street, Sen-ghenydd, S. Wales.  
Hubert Jenkins, Cross Street, Abertillery, Cardiff.  
William John, Tonypandy, S. Wales.

- T. Cape, 12, Jubilee Terrace, Maryport,  
Cumberland.  
H. Raven, Craik Road, Maryport,  
Cumberland.  
John Williams, M.P., Miners' Office,  
Swansea.  
Albert Stanley, M.P., West Hill, Hedges-  
ford, Staffs.  
W. Johnson, M.P., Bedworth, Nuneaton.  
J. Croft, 4, Angelsey Street, Hedsford.  
W. Latham, Donnington Wood, Newport,  
Salop.  
F. J. Dean, Lloyds' Chambers, Park  
Street, Walsall.  
S. Edwards, High Street, Old Hill,  
Staffs.  
T. Mansell, Beacon View, Horsley Road,  
Tipton, Staffs.  
S. H. Whitehouse, Radstock, near Bath.  
John Cairns, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-  
Tyne.  
W. Locke,  
Matthew Davey,  
George H. Wayne,  
John Robertson, Miners' Offices, Hamil-  
ton, Scotland.  
David Gilmour,  
Jas. Tonner,  
Robert Hamill,  
C. Rocks,  
R. Semple,  
R. Costelloe,  
H. Barrett,  
B. Morgan,  
H. Mumlin, 1, Dean Crescent, Stirling.  
W. Adamson, M.P., Miners' Office,  
Dunfermline.  
Jas. Robertson, Miners' Office, Dun-  
fermline.  
T. McKerrell, 22, Craigie Street, Riccar-  
ton, Kilmarnock.  
Jas. Hood, c/o Jas. Brown, Annbank,  
Ayrshire.  
David Robertson, c/o Jas. Brown,  
Annbank, Ayrshire.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain (continued)	—	—	M. S. Brown, c/o Jas. Brown, Annbank, Ayrshire.	M. S. Brown, c/o Jas. Brown, Annbank, Ayrshire.
			David Johnstone, Miners' Office, Dal- keith.	David Johnstone, Miners' Office, Dal- keith.
			Robert Brown, Miners' Office, Dalkeith.	Robert Brown, Miners' Office, Dalkeith.
			George Barker, 22, Alexandra Road, Abertillery, Mon.	George Barker, 22, Alexandra Road, Abertillery, Mon.
			Wm. Treen, Miners' Offices, Abertillery, Mon.	Wm. Treen, Miners' Offices, Abertillery, Mon.
			Wm. Waites, " " Duncan Graham, Stanley Cottages, Lowater, Hamilton, Scotland.	Wm. Waites, " " Duncan Graham, Stanley Cottages, Lowater, Hamilton, Scotland.
			W.M. Watson, Cowdenbeath, West Fife.	W.M. Watson, Cowdenbeath, West Fife.
			T. H. Cann, Miners' Offices, Durham.	T. H. Cann, Miners' Offices, Durham.
			Dr. John Wilson, M.P., "	Dr. John Wilson, M.P., "
			W. P. Richardson, "	W. P. Richardson, "
			J. Robson, " "	J. Robson, " "
			W. Whiteley, " "	W. Whiteley, " "
			R. Galbraith, " "	R. Galbraith, " "
			T. Foster, " "	T. Foster, " "
			T. Neville, " "	T. Neville, " "
			J. Lawson, " "	J. Lawson, " "
			S. Picton, Hill Top, Hindley, Wigan, Lancs.	S. Picton, Hill Top, Hindley, Wigan, Lancs.
			Jas. Winstanley, 231, Sandy Lane, Hindley, Wigan, Lancs.	Jas. Winstanley, 231, Sandy Lane, Hindley, Wigan, Lancs.
			J. McGurk, Miners' Agent, Bury, Lancs.	J. McGurk, Miners' Agent, Bury, Lancs.
			S. Sales, Gladstone Villa, New Tupton, Chesterfield.	S. Sales, Gladstone Villa, New Tupton, Chesterfield.
			W. Bradley, 198, Sheffield Road, Stne Gravels, Chesterfield.	W. Bradley, 198, Sheffield Road, Stne Gravels, Chesterfield.
			Chas. Hartshorn, Yew Tree Cottage, Stanley, near Derby.	Chas. Hartshorn, Yew Tree Cottage, Stanley, near Derby.
			B. Kenyon, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield.	B. Kenyon, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield.
			J. Haslam, M.P., "	J. Haslam, M.P., "
			J. Martin, J.P., "	J. Martin, J.P., "
			Wm. Sewell, "	Wm. Sewell, "

Frank B. Varley, Miners' Offices, New Basford, Nottingham.	
Charles Prince, " "	" "
Wm Saint, " "	" "
Arthur Sinfield, " "	" "
Wm. Carter, " "	" "
Lewis Spencer, " "	" "
J. G. Hancock, M.P., Harry Dack, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.	" "
Miners, Cumberland Iron Ore .. 2500 .. 10 8 4 .. T. Gavan-Duffy, Alva House, Moor .. T. Gavan-Duffy, Secretary.	T. Gavan-Duffy, Secretary.
Row, Cumberland. ..	T. Watson, 30, North Road, Egremont, Cumberland. —
Moulders' Union, Amalgamated .. 1400 .. 5 16 8 .. S. Howard, 148, Roundthorn Road, Oldham.	George Morton, 788, New City Road, Glasgow.
Painters' Society, Scottish .. 4500 .. 18 15 0 .. A. Gardner, 109, Hope Street, Glasgow. .. W. Dyson, Secretary.	W. Dyson, Secretary.
Paper Makers, Amalgamated Society of .. 1083 .. 4 10 3 .. W. Dyson, 7, Station Road, Woolley, .. Stockport.	W. Dyson, Secretary.
Paper Mill Workers, National Union of .. 2234 .. 9 6 2 .. W. Ross, 84, Bristol Street, Manchester.	W. Ross, Secretary.
Paper Stainers' Union of General Workers .. 310 .. 1 5 10 .. R. Marshall, 22, Starkie Street, Darwen .. R. Marshall, Secretary.	R. Marshall, Secretary.
Pattern Makers' Association, United .. — .. — .. W. Mosses, Rutland Road, Eccles. .. W. Mosses, Secretary.	W. Mosses, Secretary.
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers' Protection Society .. 180 .. 15 0 .. G. H. Shaw, 46, Sydney Road, Sheffield ..	—
Plasterers, National Association of .. 8000 .. 33 6 8 .. T. Otley, 37, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent, London, N.W.	J. Deller, 13, Bonnington Square, Vauxhall, London, S.E.
Operative Plumbers' Society, London .. 30 .. 10 0 .. J. Groves, 75, Elgin Avenue, Paddington, London, W.	—
Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association .. 11000 .. 45 16 8 .. E. R. Tuck, 8, Pearl Assurance .. Buildings, Liverpool	J. M. Robertson, 22, Jolliffe Street, Liverpool.
Postmen's Federation .. 40000 .. 166 13 4 .. G. H. Stuart (Parliamentary Secretary), Parliament Mansions, London, S.W.	W. J. Ash, 193, Kingston Road, Ilford, London, E.
Pottery Workers, National Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Power Loom Turners Mutual Improvement Association, Huddersfield .. 5968 .. 24 17 4 .. J. Lovatt, Pottery Workers' Office, .. Hill Street, Hanley, Staffs.	G. H. Stuart, Secretary.
.. 204 .. 17 0 .. R. Gledhill, 6, Barton Road, Croxteth .. Moor, Huddersfield	A. F. Johnson, 25, Bagshot Road, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation. Fee.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Press Telegraphists, National Union of	120 ..	10 s. d.	S. Cox, 29, Victoria Road, Clapham .. S. Cox, Secretary.	
Preventive Men's Association (Customs and Excise)	720 ..	3 0 0 ..	Common, London, S.W. G. E. Aynsley, 25, Eskdale Terrace, ..	
Quarrymen's Association, Cumberland Limestone	225 ..	18 9 ..	Whitley Bay, North Shields. W. Cowen, 45, Irish Street, Whitehaven.	
A.S.R.S. (per Parliamentary Representation Association)	116316 ..	25 0 0 ..	G. J. Wardle, M.P., 312, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.	G. J. Wardle, M.P., Secretary. James E. Williams, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.
Railway Clerks' Association	20000 ..	83 6 8 ..	A. G. Walkden, 337, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.	E. J. Vennell, 169, Farrant Avenue, Wood Green, London, N.
Railway Workers' Union, General	22000 ..	91 13 4 ..	Councillor T. Lowth, 27, Green Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.	A. G. Walkden, Secretary. Will Stott, 337, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.
Royal Army Clothing Employees' Union	437 ..	2 15 0 ..	J. G. Butler, 19, Claverton Street, .. J. G. Butler, Secretary.	Samuel Lomax, 17, Merlin Grove (off Chorley Old Road), Bolton. Dumber C. D. Hiscocks, Holly Bank, Dumber Lane, Ashton-on-Mersey.
Scientific Instrument Makers	1080 ..	4 10 0 ..	J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross Street, .. J. W. Clark, Secretary.	T. Lowth, Secretary.
Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers, National Amalgamated	7500 ..	31 5 0 ..	J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham Road, .. J. C. Gordon, Secretary.	James A. Waterhouse, 7, Howard Road, Elm Grove, Brighton.
Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association	23892 ..	99 11 0 ..	Councillor Alex. Wilkie, J.P., M.P., .. 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Arthur Ruffell, 45, Sutherland Road, Tottenham, London, N. Councillor Alex Wilkie, M.P., Secretary.
Ships' Stewards, Cooks, Butchers, and Bakers, National Union of	5000 ..	20 16 8 ..	J. E. Clark, 6, Spekeland Buildings, 22, Canning Place, Liverpool.	John Jenkins, J.P., 101, Romilly Road, Cardiff.
				James O'Connell, 2, Chelsea Road, Aintree, Liverpool. Wm. Frank Purdy, 8, Eldon Square Newcastle-on-Tyne.
				J: Butterworth, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Cotter, 4, Spekeland Buildings, Liverpool. J. Lovelady, 4, Spekeland Buildings, Liverpool.

A; Warner, 115, Dock Road, Tilbury.	
W. Godbold, 319, Barking Road, London E.	
P. C. Cairns, 35, Govan Road, Glasgow.	
Shop Assistants: Per Parliamentary Representation Fund Committee .. 6000 .. — .. J. Macpherson and F. W. Mather, .. P. C. Hoffman, 122, Gower Street, London, W.C.	G. Francis, 24, Deauville Mansions, Clapham, London, S.W.
Silver and Electro-Plate Operatives .. 720 .. 3 0 0 .. T. Hands, 97, Newhall Street, Birmingham.	—
Smiths' Hammermen, Cardiff .. 257 .. 1 1 5 .. W. Rawlings, 34, Zinc Street, Roath, Cardiff.	—
Smiths and Hammermen, National Union of Spindle and Flyer Makers, Operative .. 2000 .. 8 6 8 .. Robert Nickolls, 239, New Cross Road, London, S.E.	—
Steam Engine Makers' Society .. 14000 .. 58 6 8 .. W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, 17, .. Thomas Street, Manchester.	C. H. Whitehead, 124, Domestic .. C. H. Whitenead, Secretary.
Steel Smelters, Mill and Tinplate Workers' Association .. 18500 .. 77 1 8 .. J. Hodge, M.P., Ormond Mansions, .. Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.	W. F. Dawtry, Secretary.
Stevedores' Labour Protection League, Amalgamated .. 5933 .. 24 14 5 .. J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, West .. India Dock Road, London, E.	J. Hodge, M.P., Secretary.
Stove Grate Workers, National Union of Street Masons, &c., Liverpool .. 1887 .. 7 17 3 .. A. Hutchison, Effingham Street, .. A. Rotherham.	John Hegarty, 31, Wade Street, Poplar, London, E.
.. 900 .. 3 15 0 .. W. Crew, 46, Ancaster Road, Liverpool ..	John Verrell, 62, Yalding Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.
	Herbert Proctor, 3, Chester Terrace, Beeston Hill, Leeds.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
	f. s. d.			
Table and Butcher Knife Hafters' Trade Society	.. 300 ..	1 5 0 ..	W. Crofts, 84, Mitchell Street, Sheffield.	..
Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalgamated Society of	11974 ..	50 7 10 ..	Terence A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Terence A. Flynn, Secretary. G. Rowleson, 57, Samuel Street, Woolwich.
Tailors and Tailoresses' Association, Scottish Operative	3429 ..	14 5 9 ..	C. Ross, c/o R. Girvan, 180a, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	..
Textile Factory Workers' Association United	189422 ..	.789 5 2 ..	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.	J. Hindle, Weavers' Office, Charlotte Street, Burnley.
Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers, Amalgamated Association of	.. ..	.. ..	W. C. Robinson, J.P., 12, Benfield Street, Heywood.	W. C. Robinson, J.P., Secretary. John Tempest, 20, Lee Lane, Nelson, Lancs.
Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers' Association, Preston	.. ..	.. ..	Robt. Swarbrick, 172, St. Paul's Road, Preston.	Thomas Leyland, 58, London Road, Preston, Lancs.
Bleachers and Dyers	.. ..	.. ..	A. Smalley, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.	..
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of	.. ..	.. ..	Wm. Mullin, J.P., 2a, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	Wm. Mullin, Secretary. J. Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
				Wm. Collins, Cardroom Offices, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.
				J. Crimion, J.P., 108, Union Street, Oldham.
				Fred Parker, Textile Hall, Stockport.
				J. J. Howarth, 217, Union Buildings, Newhey, near Rochdale.

Card and Blowing Room Society, Accrington	..	—	..	Robert Kay, 24, Avenue Parade, ..	Robert Kay, Secretary.
Cardroom Operatives' Association, Bolton.	..	—	..	Accrington.	
Card and Blowing Room Association, Heywood	..	—	—	Joseph Edge, 77, St. George's Road, ..	Martin Nearn, 77, St. George's Road,
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Hyde and District	..	—	—	Bolton.	Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham Provincial	..	—	—	Joseph Longworth, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	Joseph Longworth, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Association, S.E. Lancashire Association, General Union of Associations of	..	—	—	Wm. Schofield, Trades Hall, Heywood. ..	Wm. Schofield, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Hyde	..	—	—	Walter Gee, 144, George Street, Hyde. ..	Uriah Price, 18, Knight Street, Hyde.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham.	..	—	—	M. Connolly, 108, Union Street, ..	J. Cocker, 3, Harper Street, Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham.	..	—	—	Oldham.	F. Mannison, 5, Ramsey Street, Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham.	..	—	—	Oldham.	J. Kershaw, 7, Byron Street, Royton, near Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham.	..	—	—	Oldham.	W. H. Carr, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham.	..	—	—	W. H. Carr, Old Street, Ashton-under- Lyne.	W. H. Carr, Secretary.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	..	—	—	Councillor E. Duxbury, 9, Turf Lane Hollinwood, Oldham.	Councillor E. Duxbury, Secretary.
Spinners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton	..	—	—	Wm. Marsland, 3, Blossom Street, .. Great Ancoats Street, Manchester.	A. Smith, M.P., Spring Cottage Lodge, Nelson, Lancs.
Spinners' Provincial Association, Operative Cotton	..	—	—	Wm. Marsland, 3, Blossom Street, .. Great Ancoats Street, Manchester.	J. Hargreaves, 17a, Market Street, Burnley.
Spinners Provincial Association, Oldham Operative Cotton	..	—	—	James Leach, 356, Willows Lane, Bolton.	R. E. Huntington, 69, Reed Street, Burnley.
Weavers' Amalgamated Association	..	—	—	George Briggs, 1132, Middleton Road, Middleton Junction, Manchester.	Wm. Marsland, Secretary.
				Joseph Belfield, 1, Moorside Street, Droylsden.	James Johnson, J.P., 138, Accrington Road, Blackburn.
				F. W. Birchenuough, 274, Copster Hill Road, Oldham.	Adam Brooks, " " " " ,
				James Johnson, J.P., 138, Accrington Road, Blackburn.	C. R. Clark, 1, Castleford Street, Chad- erton, Oldham.
				John Battle, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	A. Lord, 56, Grimsshaw Lane, Middleton Junction, near Manchester.
				F. Sewell, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	J. Cross, Secretary.
				Adam Brooks, " " " " ,	Frank Lovatt, 322, Bolton Road, Rad- cliffe, near Manchester.

*Delegates and Addresses.*

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.
Weavers' Association, Bacup	..	— ..	.. R. Green, 12, Rochdale Road, Bacup. . . R. Green, Secretary.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Blackburn and District Powerloom	..	— ..	.. Ernest Holden, 1, Clayton Street, .. Ernest Holden, Secretary Joseph Riley, 7, Hutchinson Street, Blackburn.
Weavers' Association, Burnley	..	— ..	.. Jas. Hindle, Weavers' Institute, Charlotte Street, Burnley.
Weavers' Association, Bury, Radcliffe and District	..	— ..	.. Councillor Wm. Nabb, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.
Weavers' Association, Chorley and District	..	— ..	.. Thomas West, 1, Clifford Street, Chorley, Lancs.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Clitheroe	..	— ..	.. A. H. Cottam, Weavers' Institute, .. Clitheroe.
Weavers, Colne and District	..	— ..	.. T. Shaw, J.P., Weavers' Office, Colne.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Darwen	..	— ..	.. J. Parkington, 21, and 23, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Weavers' Association, Great Harwood	..	— ..	.. W. Hesmondhalgh, 8, Police Street, .. George M. Duckworth, 12, Meadow Street, Gt. Harwood.

Weavers' Society, Heywood	..	-	..	-	John W. Ogden, J.P., Weavers' Office,	..	John Turner, 27, Pleasant Street, Hooley Bridge, Heywood.	
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Hyde and Hadfield	..	-	..	-	Trades Hall, Darwen.	..	Ernest Thelwall, 1c, Hollins Side, Marple, Cheshire.	
Weavers' Association, Nelson and District	..	-	..	-	Wm. Ward, Weavers' Institute,	..	Walter Swindells, 14, Railway Street, Hadfield, Derbyshire.	
Winders, Winders, &c., Oldham	..	-	..	-	Pendle Street, Nelson.	..	Ira Britton, Weavers' Institute, Nelson.	
Weavers, Winders, and Beamers' Association, Padham and District	..	-	..	-	Jas. Bell, Weavers' Institute, Bartham Place, Oldham.	..	S. Ibbotson, Weavers Institute, Nelson.	
Weavers' Association, Rishhton	..	-	..	-	D. Russell, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padham.	..	Jas. Bell, Secretary.	
Theatrical Employees, National Association (No. 1 Branch)	600	..	2	10	o	..	John H. Broadbent, 65, Roundthorn Road, Oldham.	
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association	2750	..	11	9	2	..	Sam Wilkinson, Weavers' Office, Padham.	
Toolmakers, Society of Amalgamated	..	7870	..	32	15	10	..	Wm. Kay, Weavers' Office, Padham.
Twisters, Yorkshire	..	400	..	1	13	4	..	G. Tomlinson, 93, Harwood Road, Rishton.
Typographical Association	..	21870	..	91	2	6	..	Councillor Ivor H. Gwynne, 16, Bryn Road, Swansea.
59					Fred Clough, 6, Cliff Street, Rishhton, Nr. Blackburn.	..	W. Johnson, Secretary.	
					William Johnson, 1, Broad Court Chambers, Bow Street, London, W.C.	..	W. F. Beston, Secretary.	
					Councillor Ivor H. Gwynne, 16, Bryn Road, Swansea.	..	A. H. Betts, 3, Pershore Road, Birmingham.	
					T. Murgatroyd, 15, Westgate, Bradford.	..	A. Wimpenny, 72, Priestman Terrace, Manningham, Bradford.	
					H. Skinner, Chapel	..	H. Skinner, Secretary.	
					George H. Roberts, M.P., 42, Whitehall Road, Norwich.	..	George H. Roberts, M.P., 42, Whitehall Road, Norwich.	
					J. J. Atkins, 189, Somerville Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	..	J. J. Atkins, 189, Somerville Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	
					D. G. Little, 73, Connaught Road, Kensington, Liverpool.	..	D. G. Little, 73, Connaught Road, Kensington, Liverpool.	
					J. A. Ratcliffe, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.	..	J. A. Ratcliffe, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.	
Typographical Association, Scottish	..	-	..	-	J. White, 50, Wellington Street,	..	J. White, 50, Wellington Street, ..	
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union of	1600	..	6	13	4	..	J. Glasgow.	
Upholsterers' Trimming Makers' Union	108	..	10	o	..	J. Leckie, 28, Lady Somerset Road, ..	L. Leckie, Secretary.	
Vehicle Workers, London and Provincial Licensed	3000	..	12	10	o	..	J. H. Morgan, 11, Hillery Road, ..	
					F. Hill, 39, Gerrard Street, Soho, ..	..	A. Smith, 71, Burns Road, Harlesden, London, N.W.	
					H. A. Thomas, 180, Valetta Road, Acton, London, W.	..	H. A. Thomas, 180, Valetta Road, Acton, London, W.	

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Warp Dressers, Lancashire and Yorkshire Association of Watermen, Lightermen, and Bargemen ..	3328 ..	13 17 4 ..	J. White, 2a, New Brown Street, ..	H. Gosling, Secretary. E. A. Spicer, 31, Great Prescott Street, London, E.
Weavers, Associated Trimming Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union of Wheelwrights and Smiths' Society ..	5000 ..	20 16 8 ..	H. Gosling, L.C.C., 31, Great Prescott Street, London, E.	W. Coulton, 32A, The Hill, Northfleet, Kent. R. W. Bryan, 29, Copenhagen Place, Limehouse, London, E.
Willeyers and Fettlers' Union, Leeds	240 ..	1 0 0 ..	W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, ..	J. T. Scolding, 80, Ravenscroft Road, Plaistow, London, E.
Wood Turners, Amalgamated Society of Wood Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of Woolcombers' Association, Bradford and District Woolsorters, National Union of Wool, Top and Nail Warehousemen, Bradford.	6100 ..	25 8 4 ..	Councillor Ben Turner, J.P., 73, Talbot Road, Longwood, Huddersfield.	Street, Batley. J. Lamb, Secretary.
Workers' Union	1788 ..	7 9 0 ..	J. Lamb, 11, Tempest Street, Ardwick, Manchester.	T. Cripwell, 75, Beauvale Road, Meadows, Nottingham.
	240 ..	1 0 0 ..	A. Sixsmith, 8, Woodside Place, ..	—
	260 ..	1 1 8 ..	Kirkstall Road, Leeds.	—
	4000 ..	10 0 0 ..	T. Greenholme, Todmorden.	—
	1500 ..	6 5 0 ..	W. J. Wentworth, 33, Plymouth Grove, ..	W. J. Wentworth, Secretary.
	900 ..	3 15 0 ..	W. H. Bramley, 1, Wilton Street, ..	Bradford.
	660 ..	2 15 0 ..	T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton Lane, ..	T. Grundy, Secretary.
	25000 ..	104 3 4 ..	S. Parker, 20 and 22, Barry Street, ..	S. Parker, Secretary.
			W. Luckcuck, 46, Monks' Road, Ward End, Birmingham.	—
			Councillor G. Titt, 44, Rowsley Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.	Councillor J. Bennett, 38, Vincent Street, Derby.
			Matt Giles, "Dulais," Killay, near Swansea.	—

## Socialist Societies.

Independent Labour Party	..	28000	..116 13 4 ..	F. Johnson, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.	.. F. Johnson, Secretary. W. C. Anderson, 92, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
	J. Bruce Glasier,	2,	Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.	J. Bruce Glasier, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.	
	Mrs. Katharine Bruce Glasier,	2,	Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.	Mrs. Katharine Bruce Glasier, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.	
	J. Mylles,	2,	Briscoe Buildings, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.	J. Mylles, 2, Briscoe Buildings, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.	
	J. H. Standing,	J.P., 30,	Blackfriars Street, Manchester.	J. H. Standing, J.P., 30, Blackfriars Street, Manchester.	
	Councillor A. T. Sutton,		Labour Institute, Bradford.	Councillor A. T. Sutton, Labour Institute, Bradford.	
	F. W. Jowett,	M.P.,	House of Commons, London, S.W.	F. W. Jowett, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.	
	Ben Riley,	32,	Springdale Avenue, Huddersfield.	Ben Riley, 32, Springdale Avenue, Huddersfield.	
	Harry Dubery,	40,	Lavenham Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.	Harry Dubery, 40, Lavenham Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.	
	Rev. G. A. Ramsay,		The Rectory, Writhlington, Radstock, near Bath.	Rev. G. A. Ramsay, The Rectory, Writhlington, Radstock, near Bath.	
	R. C. Wallhead,	21,	East Avenue, Garden Village, Burnage, Manchester.	R. C. Wallhead, 21, East Avenue, Garden Village, Burnage, Manchester.	
	J. Keir Hardie,	M.P., 10,	Nevill's Court, London, E.C.	J. Keir Hardie, M.P., 10, Nevill's Court, London, E.C.	
	T. Richardson,	M.P., 3,	Denny Street, Kennington, London, S.E.	T. Richardson, M.P., 3, Denny Street, Kennington, London, S.E.	
	Philip Snowden,	M.P.,	"Elberton," Woodstock Road, Golders Green, London, N.W.	Philip Snowden, M.P., "Elberton," Woodstock Road, Golders Green, London, N.W.	
	W. Stewart,	12,	Waterloo Street, Glasgow.	W. Stewart, 12, Waterloo Street, Glasgow.	
	Alderman G. Banton,	J.P., 12,	Dulverton Road, Leicester.	Alderman G. Banton, J.P., 12, Dulverton Road, Leicester.	
	Councillor W. H. Ayles,		Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.	Councillor W. H. Ayles, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.	
	J. D. Morgan,	20,	Shirley Road, Cardiff.	J. D. Morgan, 20, Shirley Road, Cardiff.	
	Mrs. W. H. Ayles,		Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.	Mrs. W. H. Ayles, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.	

*Name of Society.**Na<sup>n</sup> of Members.**Affiliation Fee.**Delegates and Addresses.*

Independent Labour Party (continued)

<i>Name of Society.</i>	<i>Na<sup>n</sup> of Members.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Councillor Dr. Ethel Bentham	74,		
Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London, W.			
Sister Kerrison, 61, Ravenscroft Road, Victoria Docks, London, E.			
Mrs. A. E. Reeves, The Archway House, St. Stephen's, Norwich.			
Mrs. Ada Salter, 5, Stork's Road, Ber- mondsey, London, S.E.			
Councillor Miss S. Turnbull, 14, Plum- stead Road, Plumstead, T. Peacock, J.P., 6, Liddell Terrace, Gateshead.			
Fabian Society ..	3237 ..	13 9 9 ..	Edw. R. Pease, 3, Clement's Inn, .. Strand, London, W.C.
Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society, ..	1073 ..	4 9 5 ..	H. Richards, 7, Kensington Street, .. Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
Women's Labour League, National Limited.	..	5000 ..	Dr. Marion Phillips, 3, Lincoln's Inn .. Fields, London, W.C.

62

## Co-operative Society.

<i>Name of Council.</i>	<i>Na<sup>n</sup> of Members.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Abertillery and District Trades and Labour Council ..	15 0 ..	J. H. Williams, 13, Granville Street, Abertillery, Mon. ..	—
Accrington Trades Council ..	15 0 ..	Councillor J. Dewhurst, 50, Westwood Street, Accing- .. ton.	—
Ashton-under-Lyne, Dukinfield and .. District Trades Council ..	110 0 ..	T. C. Bowden, 6, Downing Street, Taunton, Ashton- .. under-Lyne.	—

## Women's Organisation.

<i>Name of Council.</i>	<i>Na<sup>n</sup> of Members.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Dr. Marion Phillips, Secretary.	..	..	..
Mrs. Simm, 27, Delaval Terrace, Gos- forth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.			

## Trades Councils.

<i>Name of Council.</i>	<i>Na<sup>n</sup> of Members.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
—			
—			
—			

Barnsley and District Trades Council	15	0	.. A. D. Masterton, <sup>71</sup> , Bridge Street, Barnsley.	.. D. R. Campbell, 11, Kimberley Street,
Belfast Trades Council	1	10	0 .. J. Murphy, 333, Woodstock Road, Belfast.	Belfast.
Birkenhead Trades and Labour Council	1	10	0 .. W. Egan, 30, Dacre Street, Birkenhead.	..
Blackburn Trades Council	1	10	0 .. J. Frankland, J.P., 22, Leopold Road, Blackburn.	.. James Beckett, 84, Franklin Street,
Blackpool Trades and Labour Council	15	0	.. P. Pye, 9, Northfield Avenue, Blackpool.	.. Blackburn
Bradford Trades Council	1	10	0 .. W. Barber, 1, Carlton Rooms, 85, Westgate, Bradford.	.. Councillor John Henry Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Thornbury, Bradford.
Burnley Trades Council	15	0	.. J. Gradwell, 34, Shaw Street, Burnley.	Councillor Michael Conway, 177, Gladstone Street, Bradford.
Burton-on-Trent Trades Council	15	0	.. L. Jones, 43, South Oak Street, Burton-on-Trent.	..
Carlisle Trades Council	15	0	.. T. Winder, 14, Grey Street, Carlisle.	..
Chatham Trades Council	15	0	.. P. W. Terry, 65, Beaconsfield Road, Chatham.	..
Chester, United Trades Council of Coalville and District Trades Council	15	0	.. Councillor W. Carr, J.P., 42, Filkins Lane, Chester.	..
Connah's Quay and District Trades Council	15	0	.. W. Hancock, Bersfield Street, Coalville	..
Darlington Trades Council	15	0	.. W. Hooley, 4, North Terrace, Sandycroft, Nr. Chester.	..
Darwen Trades Council	15	0	.. T. Bradley, 55, Marshall Street, Darlington.	..
Derby Trades Council	15	0	.. S. Hamer, 1, Essex Street, Darwen.	T. Russell Williams, "Kildwick," Keighley, Yorks.
Doncaster and District Trades and Labour Council	1	10	0 .. Councillor J. Bennett, 6, Vincent Road, Derby.	..
Enfield Trades Council	15	0	.. J. Mercer, 34, Beckett Road, Wheatley, Doncaster.	..
Farnworth Trades Council	15	0	.. D. W. Thomas, 66, Manor Road, Enfield.	..
Glasgow Trades Council	1	10	0 .. J. Walsh, 73, Edward Street, Farmworth, S.O., Lancs.	..
Glossop, Hadfield and District Trades Council	15	0	.. Councillor G. Carson, 156, George Street (City), Glasgow.	..
Gorton Trades Council	15	0	.. W. H. Burdekin, 27, Dinting Vale, Dinting, Glossop.	..
Great Harwood Trades and Labour Council	15	0	.. T. Higgins, 49, Oxton Street, Openshaw, Manchester.	.. Councillor Sam Hague, 3, Hyde Road, Gorton, Manchester.
Greenock Trades Council	15	0	.. I. Dickenson, 2, Mount Street, Great Harwood, Lancs.	I. Dickenson, Secretary.
Grimsby Trades and Labour Council	15	0	.. J. Bennett, 5, Belville Street, Greenock.	..
Guilford Trades and Labour Council	15	0	.. G. McDonald, 269, Convamore Road, Grimsby.	..
Hackney Trades Council and L.R.A.	15	0	.. P. G. Mortimer, Radcliffe Cottage, Cheseelden Road	.. Guildford Surrey.
Halifax Federated Trades and Labour Council	—	—	.. W. Parker, 15, Adley Street, Clapton, London, N.E.	.. John Law, 11, Savile Parade, Halifax.
			.. W. H. Dean, 9, Sunnybank Terrace, Halifax.	..

*Delegates and Addresses.*

*Secretary and Address.*

Name of Council.	Affiliation Fee.	f. s. d.	Secretary and Address.
Hampstead Trades Council	..	15 0	J. R. Wardrop, 3, Flask Cottages, Hampstead, London, .. A. E. Edwards, 9, Medley Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.
Harrogate Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Jackson, 82, Mayfield Grove, Harrogate.
Hastings and District Trades Council	..	15 0	W. W. Jones, 31, Silverlands Road, St. Leonards.
Hebden Bridge Trades Council	..	15 0	S. Craven, 11, Lees Road, Hebden Bridge.
Heywood Trades Council	..	15 0	S. J. Bardsley, 31, Pleasant Road, Heywood, Lancs.
Huddersfield Trades Council	..	15 0	J. S. Armitage, 7, Lidgett Street, Lindley, Huddersfield .. A. Shaw, 56, Mount Street, Lockwood, Huddersfield.
Hull and District Trades Council	..	1 10 0	R. Lancaster, 4, Brooklyn Avenue, Perth Street, Hull. .. Richard Lancaster, Secretary.
Illord and District Trades Council	..	15 0	H. Ludlow Crofts, 35, Albert Road, Ilford. .. H. Ludlow Crofts, Secretary.
Keighley Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Dawson, 9, Cromer Avenue, Keighley.
Kettering Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Taylor, 50, Broadway, Kettering.
Kidderminster Trades Council	..	15 0	W. Walters, 17, Albert Road, Kidderminster.
Lancaster Trades Council	..	15 0	J. J. Moffatt, 59, Bay View Terrace, Lancaster.
Leeds Trades Council	..	1 10 0	Owen Connellan, 6, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds. .. Owen Connellan, Secretary
Leith United Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	W. Grant, Labour Hall, 1, Smith's Place, Leith. ..
Lincoln Trades Council	..	15 0	Mr. Larmon, 24, Fairfield Street, Lincoln.
London Trades Council	..	1 10 0	J. Macdonald, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C. .. Fred Knee, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.
Luton and District Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	T. W. Hawkesley, 241, Park Street, Luton, Beds. ..
Manchester and Salford Trades Council	..	1 10 0	W. Mellor, 3, Clarence Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, .. Councillor Tom Fox, 12, Dover Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
Marylebone Trades and Labour Council	15 0	..	E. Charles Priestley, 6, Cardigan Street, Phillips Park Road, Manchester.
Mexboro' Trades Council	..	1 10 0	E. Hawkes, 14, Gt. Quebec Street, Montague Square, London, W.C.
Neath and District Trades Council	..	15 0	L. Smith, 35, Queen Street, Swinton.
Newcastle, Gateshead and District Trades Council	..	1 10 0	T. Wilkinson, 7, Elswick East Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. .. T. Wilkinson, Secretary.
Newport Trades Council	..	1 10 0	F. H. Heath, 39, London Street, Maindee, Newport, ..
Norwich Trades Council	..	15 0	G. F. Hipperson, 91, Connaught Road, Norwich. ..
Oldham Trades Council	..	1 10 0	A. H. Smethurst, 37, New Radcliffe Street, Oldham. .. A. H. Smethurst, Secretary.
Padiham Trades Council	..	15 0	Eli Bottomley, 37, Walter Scott Street, Oldham. ..
Paisley Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	J. Ingham, Weavers' Institute, Padiham. .. Alexander Hair, 11, Cochran Street, Paisley.

Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	H. Young, 12, Woodland Terrace, Wood Street, ..	
Portsmouth Trades Council	..	10 0	..	Peterborough. G. W. Porter, 97, Toronto Road, Buckland Ports-mouth.	Councillor J. M. Mactavish, 68, Cuthbert Road, Portsmouth.
Preston Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. Hopkins, 20, Bispham Street, Preston.	G. W. Porter, 97, Toronto Road, Ports-mouth.
Radcliffe Trades Council	..	15 0	..	G. Knights, 29, Milltown Street, Radcliffe.	J. Woolley, J.P., 14, Lovat Road, Preston.
Rishton Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	F. H. Greenhalgh, 6, Cliff Street, Rishton, Nr. Black-burn.	—
St. Helens Trades and Labour Council	..	10 0	..	J. Francis, 125, Speakman Road, St. Helens.	J. Francis, Secretary.
Scunthorpe Trades Council	..	15 0	..	C. Walsham, 209, High Street, Scunthorpe, Lincs.	—
Sheffield Trades Council	..	10 0	..	A. Short, 43, Brinsworth Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.	A. Short, Secretary.
Shrewsbury Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	W. H. Edwards, 34, St. Julian's Friars, Shrewsbury.	—
Southampton Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. Laing, 7, Forster Road, Southampton.	T. Lewis, 22, St. Mary Street, Southampton.
Southport and District Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	J. Hopwood, 3, Haweside Street, Southport.	—
Southwark Trades Council	..	15 0	..	G. B. Kimberley, 133, Merrow Street, Walworth, .. London, S.E.	C. R. Bennett, 5, Waghorn Street, Peckham, London, S.E.
Spenn Valley Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	J. Corner, Wormall Street, Heckmondwike, Yorks.	—
Stafford Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. R. Morris, 32, Izak Walton Street, Stafford.	Alderman Harry Leese, J.P., 18, Stamer Street, Stoke-on-Trent.
Staffordshire (North) Trades Council	..	10 0	..	T. Thornton, 14, King Street, Burslem, Staffs.	—
Stalybridge Trades Council	..	15 0	..	S. Bailey, 5, High Street, Stalybridge.	—
Stockport Trades Council*	..	10 0	..	H. Spares, 4, St. Augustine Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport.	—
Swadlincote and District Trades Council.	..	15 0	..	H. T. Forman, 87, James Street, Swadlincote.	H. T. Forman, Secretary.
Sunderland Trades Council and L.R.C.	..	10 0	..	S. F. Clarkson, 14, Glenthorne Road, Sunderland.	Frank W. Goldstone, M.P., 82, Ulleswater Road, Southgate, London, N.
Warrington Trades Council	..	15 0	..	C. Dukes, 26, Dundonald Avenue, Stockton Heath, Warrington.	—
Weymouth Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	..	P. J. Berriford, 42, St. Leonard's Road, Rodwell, .. Weymouth.	P. J. Berriford, Secretary.
Wolverhampton Trades Council	..	15 0	..	H. Bagley, 83, Burleigh Road, Wolverhampton.	J. Whittaker, J.P., Owen Road, Wolverhampton.
Wolverton Trades Council	..	15 0	..	A. E. Skinner, 18, Radcliffe Street, Wolverton, Bucks.	—
Woolwich Trades Council	..	15 0	..	Councillor W. Barefoot, 3, New Road, Woolwich.	A. Curtis, 5, Manthorpe Road, Plumstead, Kent.
Workington Trades Council	..	15 0	..	D. Thompson, 44, Queen Street, Workington.	—

## Local Labour Parties.

Name of Council.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Aberdeen Labour Party	15 0	J. A. M'Gillivray, 12, Regent Quay, Aberdeen.	—
Barnard Castle Labour and Progressive Association	15 0	T. W. Dowson, Greta House, Crook, R.S.O., Co. Durham.	—
Barrow Labour Party and Trades Council	1 10 0	Councillor Egerton P. Wake, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.	Councillor E. P. Wake, Secretary. Councillor J. H. Brown, 1, Back Salt-house Road, Barrow-in-Furness.
Bermondsey L.R.C.	15 0	C. G. Ammon, 121, Alscot Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.	C. G. Ammon, Secretary.
Bethnal Green Labour Party	15 0	C. M. Lloyd, 29, Victoria Park Square, London, N.E.	C. M. Lloyd, Secretary.
Birmingham L.R.C.	1 10 0	A. J. Smith, 51, Freer Road, Birchfield, Birmingham.	Fred Hughes, 45, Finnemore Road, Saltley, Birmingham.
Bishop Auckland Labour and Progressive Association	15 0	W. T. Kirk, 3a, West Street, Bishop Auckland.	Councillor B. C. Spoor, Westfield Road, Cockton Hill, Bishop Auckland.
Bootle L.R.C.	15 0	C. Anders, 14, Walton Street, Liverpool.	—
Bolton Labour Party	1 10 0	Frank Knights, 66, Ainsworth Lane, Bolton.	Councillor Alfred Potts, Corporation Chambers, 22, Corporation Street, Bolton.
Brighton and District L.R.C.	15 0	G. Beard, 68, Hanover Terrace, Brighton.	Joseph Demain, 29, Melville Street, Bolton.
Bristol L.R.C.	15 0	T. Burleigh, 4, Morgan Street, St. Paul's, Bristol.	—
Cambridge Labour Party	15 0	P. Coe, 38, Perowne Street, Cambridge.	R. Clifford Allen, 92, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
Cardiff and District Labour Party	1 10 0	H. Hiles, 2, Lower Cathedral Road, Riverside, Cardiff.	—
Chorley Division L.R.C.	15 0	J. E. Higson, 62, Devonshire Road, Chorley.	—
Cheltenham and District L.R.C.	15 0	H. E. Durham, 39, All Saints Terrace, Cheltenham.	—
Clitheroe Division Labour Party	1 10 0	T. McCall, 33, Belgrave Street, Nelson, Lancs.	T. McCall, Secretary.
Coventry L.R.C.	15 0	R. Barton, 3, Alfred Road, Coventry.	R. Barton, Secretary.
Crewe Labour Party	15 0	C. Bates, 6, Charles Street, Crewe.	—
Croydon L.R.C.	15 0	A. Jenner, 24, Cuthbert Road, Croydon.	Councillor S. Stranks, Ruskin House, Croydon, London.
Deptford Labour Association	15 0	J. W. Reid, 435, New Cross Road, London, S.E.	B. T. Hall, 47, Shardeilos Road, New Cross, London, S.E.
Devonport Labour Party	15 0	W. H. Weston, 119, Cottrell Avenue, Devonport.	G. R. Shepherd Secretary.
Dundee L.R.C.	1 10 0	G. R. Shepherd, 48, Murraygate, Dundee.	H. H. Schloesser, 6, Flanders Mansions, Ealing, Acton, and Chiswick
Labor R.C.	15 0	F. G. Amey, 11, Wilcott Road, Acton Hill, London, W.	Bedford Park, London, W.

East Ham L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	J. J. Pope, 133, Shakespeare Crescent, Manor Park, ..	H. J. Rolf, 18, Goldsmith Avenue, London, E.
East Northants Labour Party	..	15 0	..	H. Thomson, 17, Higham Road, Rushden.	Manor Park, London, E.
Eccles L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	D. B. Evans, 93, Cromwell Road, Patricroft, Manchester.	H. Thomson, Secretary. —
Edinburgh Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	Thos. Milne, 19, Cumberland Street, Edinburgh.	—
Egremont Division Labour Party	..	15 0	..	J. Croy, 46, Duke Street, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	—
Gateshead L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	J. C. Frobert, 11, James Street, Gateshead.	—
Glamorgan (East) Labour Party	..	15 0	..	Evan Morgan, 28, Gyrffon Road, Trehaftod, Glam.	T. I. Mardy Jones, 1, Hilda Street, Treforest, Pontypridd.
Glamorgan (Mid.) Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	D. J. Thomas, 4, Blandy Terrace, Ogmore Vale, Glam.	J. Evans, 5, Craig Road, Abergwynfi, Glam. —
Gloucester Labour Party	..	15 0	..	E. Brooks, 89, Regent Street, Gloucester.	—
Hammersmith L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	W. H. Harding, 61, Ifley Road, Hammersmith, London, W.	—
Harrow and Willesden Labour Party	..	15 0	..	A. J. Ellis, 96, Ilex Road, Willesden, London, N.W.	E. Porter, 16, Radcliffe Avenue, Harlesden, London, N.W.
Holmfirth L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	J. Hannett, Rockingham Street, Birdwell, Barnsley.	—
Hyde L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	H. Bateman, 141, George Street, Hyde, Cheshire.	—
Hilston Division Labour Party	..	15 0	..	E. R. Newbery, 41, Upper Wellington Street, Long Eaton, Derbyshire.	J. T. White, Victoria Road, Sandiacre, Notts.
Ince (Parliamentary Division) Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	R. S. Rolson, 341, Warrington Road, Abram, Lancs.	—
Ipswich L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	T. J. Pipe, 60, Schriber Road, Ipswich.	—
Islington L.R.C. and Trades Council	..	15 0	..	T. G. Fowler, 38, Hemingford Road, Barnsby, London, N.	—
Jarrow Division Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	J. Willcocks, 15, Pine Street, Jarrow-on-Tyne.	G. Smith, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow.
Lambeth L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	H. A. Urié, 15, Crescent Grove, Clapham Common, London, S.W.	Councillor C. Iremonger, 19, Kenchester Street, South Lambeth Road, London, S.E.
Leigh Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	J. McQueeney, 8, Hamblett Street, Leigh, Lancs.	Councillor W. Grundy, Kirkhall Lane, Leigh.
Leicester Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	G. H. Kirk, 226, Loughborough Road, Leicester.	Councillor H. Hand, 44, Leamington Street, Leicester.
Liverpool L.R.C.	..	1 10 0	..	A. W. Short, 8, Brook Road, Bootle, Lancs.	Councillor J. S. Salt, 76, Erskine Street, Leicester.
Llanelli and District Labour Association	..	15 0	..	Fred Lee, Hall Street, Alfreton, Derbyshire.	H. Collingham, 3, Stalmine Road, Liverpool. —
Mid-Derbyshire L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	W. Gooding, 7, Hafod Tudor Terrace, Wattsville, Mon.	—
Monmouthshire (South) Labour Party	..	1 10 0	..	Crosskeys, Mon.	—
Montrose L.R.C.	..	15 0	..	A. Peffers, 6, Osnaburgh Street, Forfar, Scotland.	..

*Delegates and Addresses.*

Name of Council.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.
North-West Durham L.R.C.	.. 15 0	H. Bainbridge, 11, Shafto Terrace, Stanley, S.O., Co. .. Durham.
Nelson Labour Party	.. 1 10 0	Dawson Ashworth, 17, Gordon Road, Nelson. ..
Newton Division Labour Party	.. 1 10 0	Councillor W. Forshaw, 93, Hardshaw Street, St. .. Helens, Lancs.
Nottingham Labour Party	.. 15 0	George O. Richards, 8, Ashfield Road, Sneinton, .. Nottingham.
Perth L.R.C.	.. 15 0	Geo. McLeod, I.L.P. Rooms, 24, Atholl Street, Perth. ..
Plymouth Labour Party	.. 15 0	F. R. Crow, 169, Beaumont Road, Plymouth. ..
Rochdale Labour Party	.. 1 10 0	John W. Moor, 94, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. ..
Rossendale Labour Council	.. 15 0	J. Hughes, The Lodge, Ashlands, Newchurch, Water- .. foot, Manchester. ..
Rhondda Labour Party	.. 15 0	J. Rees, 12, Evans Terrace, Trealaŵ, Rhondda. ..
Smethwick L.R.C.	.. —	A. M. Williots, 30, Dunsford Road, Smethwick, .. Birmingham.
South Shields Labour Party	.. 15 0	C. Johnston, Labour Hall, 19, Chapter Row, South .. Shields.
Sowerby Division L.R.C.	.. 15 0	J. Siddall, 15, Egremont Street, Sowerby Bridge. ..
Stockton-on-Tees and Thornaby L.R.C.	.. 15 0	C. F. Barclay, 14, Rosebery View, Thornaby-on-Tees. ..
Swansea Labour Association	.. 1 10 0	T. L. Jenkins, 44, Brunswick Street, Swansea. ..
Swindon L.R.C.	.. 15 0	C. R. Palmer, 11, Church Walk, Rodbourne Cheney, .. Swindon.
Wansbeck L.R.C.	.. 15 0	G. H. Warne, 171, Maple Street, Hirst, Ashington, .. Northumberland.
Westhoughton Division Labour Association	.. 15 0	Gilbert W. Jones, Corporation Chambers, Bolton. ..
Whitehaven L.R.C.	.. 15 0	J. J. Nicholson, 7, Woodville Terrace, Whitehaven. ..
Wigan and District L.R.C.	.. 15 0	J. Gavey, 66, Widdington Road, Monument Park, .. Wigan.
York Labour Party	.. 15 0	J. N. Mercer, 8, Scarcroft Road, York. ..

Fraternal Delegates

Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee	—	C. W. Bowerman, M.P., General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.	J. A. Seddon, "Laurel Dene," Lane, St. Helens.	Hare
Central Federation of Trade Unions	—	W. A. Appleton, 34, Guildford Street, London, W.C.	W. A. Appleton, Secretary.	

# REPORT OF CONFERENCE.

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The Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party was opened in the Prince's Hall, Lambeth Baths, Kennington Road, London, S.E., on Wednesday, January 29th, 1913, at 11 a.m., the number of delegates attending being 521, representing 162 organisations.

## WEDNESDAY'S SITTING.

COUNCILLOR TOM FOX temporarily took the Chair.

COUNCILLOR BEN TURNER moved:—

*That Mr. George H. Roberts, M.P., be the President of the Conference.*

ALDERMAN P. WALLS seconded.

Mr. Roberts was thereupon unanimously elected to the Chair, and expressed his appreciation of the honour, and trusted that his conduct in the chair would justify the confidence reposed in him.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE CHAIRMAN then delivered the following Presidential Address:—

Traditionally, a chairman's address presents a survey of the past and a prediction of the future—a practice having much to commend it. The experience of thirteen years shows the Political Labour Movement to have firmly established itself as an essential weapon of working-class betterment, and an integral part of our national life. Those well qualified to judge hold its several elements are becoming more closely-knit and coherent, besides exhibiting clearer perceptions and a profounder grasp of actualities. Its growth and development undoubtedly exercise a salutary and beneficent influence on all social affairs. In the sphere of municipal administration its hundreds of representatives wield a great influence making for civic advancement.

The Parliamentary Party, small and youthful as it is, has a record of solid and creditable achievement, and this despite the relentless attacks of natural foes, and the harsh and violent criticism of those who claim to be of, but are not in conformity with, the organised Labour and Socialist Movement. The fact that some applaud hysterical and dervish-like methods, and condemn the calm, rational, and effective tackling of problems, reveals the presence of an unwholesome malady which, in the highest interests of unity and progress, needs to be eradicated.

Whilst nothing ought to be done to repress individuality or to damp genuine enthusiasm, obedience to party findings and mutual loyalty may reasonably be expected, and if needs be must be enforced. This may appear exacting to the immutable doctrinaire, or those who feel the lure of old associations, nevertheless the qualities named are requisite to the existence and efficiency of any political party. If any have reluctantly joined the ranks of the Party, and continue to find their views and sympathies ineradicably rooted to one of the older parties, they must choose between loyalty to the new or reversion to the old attachment. To those who precipitate their minds so convulsively and distantly as to fit every detail into a wondrous mosaic of a future state, a word of friendly advice may be ventured. You are not asked to obscure the loftiest aim, but to be receptive of actualities and responsive to experience. Life is constantly flowing, and ceaselessly changing. To acknowledge this is to admit the unwisdom of dogmatising respecting minute points of ultimate conditions. Just as a jig-saw puzzle bewilders the child, so the intricacies of far-off human development may confound present day prophets. The wise settle down to the application of Socialist and Labour principles, both remedially and constructively, in the manner best adapted to the period. There is no need to despair if tendencies rather than positive things or ends are the immediate result, for these are an intimate part of vital progress, which will assuredly blossom and fruit in appropriate order and sequence.

## SITTINGS OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the first business to be transacted was that of deciding the duration of the sessions. The Executive recommended:—

*That the Conference meet from 9.30 till 12.30, re-assemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn at 5 o'clock.*

The Executive were motived very largely by consideration for the comfort of the delegates because of the fact that dining places were crowded between 1 o'clock and 3, and it was thought that if the Conference adjourned at 12.30 it would better enable the delegates to get the necessary sustenance.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers), moved as an amendment:—

*That the Conference adjourn from 1 o'clock till 2.*

The amendment was formally seconded.

On a vote being taken the recommendation of the Executive was adopted.

A review of the past year shows that the ferment and upheaval, which is such a notable characteristic of the age, gain in volume. The worker, hitherto dumb and acquiescent, now reads and reflects on the facts of modern society. He perceives that arduous toil does not bring him an equitable share of rapidly-increasing wealth; that at its best his weekly wage barely suffices for weekly needs; that he ever stands on the brink of casual labour and unemployment; that some are born to consume the fruits he cultivates; and that his respectfully-worded appeals for equity and justice invariably receive scant consideration. Pondering over these things he acquires a knowledge of the causes of riches and poverty. Then armed with intellectual conviction and the will to correct wrongs and to remove artificial inequalities, he links up with the forces of revolt and moves forward to the conquest of evil and the supremacy of good.

That an increasing number of thoughtful people are thus moved is indisputable. That progress and accomplishment do not fully correspond thereto is largely attributable to the conflict of method prevailing in the Labour ranks. However fervently differences may be cherished they require to be carefully examined and false creeds discarded, for the greatest measure of common agreement must ensue if strongly-entrenched anti-social interests are to be effectually combatted. The disunity of Labour rejoices the defenders of privilege and exploitation. Though the walls of injustice will not fall before the lustiest shouting, they would speedily succumb to the wisely-planned efforts of cohesive, disciplined, and morally-inspired Labour forces.

Undoubtedly many are repelled from our movement by the confusing and contradictory policies which are presented. While some vacillate from one extreme to another possible recruits will be perplexed and support alienated. Recently we have witnessed a recrudescence of the allegation that political action is futile and direct industrialism the only certain means of realising working-class aims and aspirations. The Labour Party challenges that view with the assertion that both means are necessary. None can avoid a sense of disappointment at the results of political action. And is it not equally so with the strike policy? The truth is, that while the highest expectations formed of either are unfulfilled, yet considerable advantage has accrued from both. In either case the comparative failure is identical. It is not due to inherent fault in either method, but to the lack of working-class adhesion and enthusiasm. Given a more thorough education and organisation of the workers their political and industrial activities would be correspondingly the more productive. As it is, accomplishment fairly approximates to strength and endeavour.

Direct actionists affect to repudiate the representative government of modern democracy, and have aroused the suspicion that they favour violence rather than discussion and reason. My submission is that politics cannot be dispensed with, and that the perfect State will only come through well-ordered effort and schemes, and not through a purely economic outburst. Let it be remembered that the State is as yet imperfectly democratised. Our object is to make the State synonymous with the people. When a popular franchise is attained, the people by political organisation can master the State and use it for popular purposes. Politics cannot be ignored, and acrid negative reflection thereon is not very helpful. When industries are brought under public control political methods will be necessary to determine principles of administration. Again, the attainments of force can only subsist by the sanction of force. If Parliament is vacated by Labour the control by opponents of public revenue, the naval, military, and civil forces would speedily encompass the downfall of the new system. Neither is it wise to stake everything on a single policy of forceful action. This is a reckless gamble. Moreover, do not direct actionists minimise the resisting power of employers and possessors? Simultaneously with the cessation of labour occurs a cruel aggravation of the hardship and suffering of women and children—a risk which cannot be lightly encountered.

Those who feel keenly may well regard improvement as intolerably slow. To such the dream of a revolution which shall swiftly transform society is very alluring. But no genuine lover of the people will foster a hope doomed to disillusionment. Though the task ahead is stupendous, yet all must understand that the rate of betterment and elevation is strictly conditioned by their own consciousness and action. Yet while heartily welcoming the movement towards less unions and more unity, together with the closer federation of workers, there is need to emphasise the point that salvation evolves from the use of both arms—the industrial and the political. Partial strikes and Labour Representation have at least been partially successful. The universal strike has not emerged, and will not yet emerge from the realm of speculative philosophy.

An example substantiating the foregoing is found in the Miners' strike of last year. Having exhausted every conciliatory and negotiatory means without avail, no alternative remained to the Miners' Federation but to call upon their members to "down tools." This soon paralysed industry and transit. The owners were implacable and unyielding. Confronted by this crisis the Government was compelled to seek a solution. Its intervention took the form of a Minimum Wage Bill. Throughout, the Parliamentary Party had kept in contact with the Miners' Federation. Immediately legislation was contemplated they placed themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the miners. That valuable aid was rendered in fashioning this measure is gratefully acknowledged by the miners. With all its shortcomings and disappointments the Act bears eloquent testimony to the worth of political representation. Strenuous efforts were made to secure the inclusion of a statutory minimum of five shillings

per day for adult workers and two shillings for boys. At one point success seemed certain. For what undoubtedly appeared to them overwhelming reasons the Miners' Federation was unwilling to regard the inclusion of the two figures as sufficient warrant for an unqualified acceptance of the Bill. But why the government subsequently refused the insertion of what they had apparently previously favoured is incomprehensible and indefensible.

In the succeeding Transport Workers' strike the influence of the Party unquestionably frustrated the full use of armed and civil powers being placed as heretofore on the side of the employers and in the protection of blacklegs. Further, as the strike was traceable to the refusal of certain firms to conform to agreements entered into between the several unions and employer's representatives the Party, in conjunction with the men's leaders, gave careful consideration to that point. As a result a Bill was introduced to give legal sanction to agreements voluntarily made between bodies appropriately representative of employers and organised workmen. The proposal in no way conflicts with the right to strike. It would simply make obligatory on all employers in a given industry the conditions negotiated by customary Trade Union practice. A fruitful source of industrial trouble is the inability to compel unwilling firms to recognise agreements set up by Trade Unions with the better-disposed employers. By overcoming this, much expense and irritation would be averted, and Trade Unionism be stronger and freer to pursue other aims. Admittedly some apprehension exists respecting the operations of such a measure. When it is clear that no appreciable danger is involved, the principle will be welcomed as a most valuable adjunct. Extreme care must be exercised in making agreements, and nothing be accepted that vitiates the principles or freedom of Trade Unions. Having secured this, no danger arises in compelling workmen and employers alike to conform thereto. As one inveterately opposed to Compulsory Arbitration, I thus speak with a full sense of responsibility.

Acknowledging as I do, that contractual obligations should be honoured, and that only in the case of great provocation should agreements be broken, I nevertheless view with grave misgiving the prominence accorded Compulsory Arbitration. This device would assuredly prove disastrous to effective industrial activity. The swift and mobile disposition of forces is a strategic necessity in labour struggles as in actual warfare. Delays imposed by arbitrative proceedings might seriously jeopardise the prospects of victory. Constituted as the State is at present restrictions of this character must be resisted, for it is difficult to conceive a tribunal that would merit our whole-hearted confidence. Those who postulate the workers as a perpetually dependant class may be conscience-stricken into removing the worst phases of sweating, but it would be the height of folly to entrust them with more power when the wider demands of Labour are in question. Believing that the strike is not played-out, but will increase in efficiency as more workers pay into Unions, I would jealously preserve all existing facilities. Moreover the right to relinquish work is the heritage of every free worker. To destroy this right is to diminish the individual and collective freedom of the wage-earning class. Its deprivation would place labour in bondage comparable to that inflicted by the Statute of Labourers in the fourteenth century.

Stirring industrial events in the country have been accompanied by interesting doings in Parliament. In the debate on the King's Speech the problem of Industrial Unrest was raised. The speeches then made by Labour men were marked by a breadth of outlook, a depth of knowledge, and an earnestness of spirit which created a profound impression in the country. Parliamentary time has been so fully occupied by certain measures that far too little opportunity has remained for the mature consideration of social issues. Consistent support has been given to the national aspirations of the Irish and Welsh democracies. This was motived both by an appreciation of their merits, and an anxiety to clear the political stage, and thereby enhance the prospects of the purposes which more immediately concern us.

To win back for Trade Unions the right of political action has constituted the chief duty of the session. That a complete reversal of judge-made law is not yet attained is regretted, and must still be pursued. Nevertheless, having regard to all the circumstances, the amount of reversal embodied in the Trades Union (No. 2) Bill is of considerable advantage. Under it comprehensive political work can be undertaken, and appeal must be made to those invested with exemption thereunder to recognise that as political action is a necessary form of Trade Union equipment none should shirk their responsibilities, especially as none would deny the benefits gained. It must not be forgotten that the trouble arose within our own ranks, and that Parliamentary candidates received support on pledges to give disaffected Trade Unionists this power of exemption. Action at the poll rightly reflects itself in Parliament. Working-class indifference or disloyalty is inevitably expiated by lessened rights and retarded progress. Recalcitrants must now be shown that majority rule in Trade Unionism, as elsewhere, is but common-sense and justice. Meanwhile, all are satisfied that our men in Parliament have laboured intelligently and splendidly to adjust legislation to the Movement's expressed demands.

The conduct of the Opposition during these proceedings has revealed a virulent and deep-rooted hostility to Trade Unions. Had success attended their efforts not only would labour have been kept out of politics, but Trade Unions would have been rendered impotent and their very existence undermined. Certain lordlings and plutocrats have introduced Bills with the same design. This, combined with the solicitude exhibited by them for the non-unionist and the strike-breaker is very significant. This class, whatever its political hue,

understands the importance of controlling the political and judicial machinery of society, and plainly perceives Labour Representation to challenge its cherished traditions, powers, and privileges. Did the workers display a tithe of the class-consciousness possessed by their enemies the future would be much more hopeful. Assuredly, the ingenuity and adroitness of these attacks emphasise the imperativeness of a strong Labour Party.

Whilst regretting the abandonment of the Franchise and Registration Bill we must now prepare for the future. That it has been proposed to base the Right to Vote on a simple residential qualification; to abolish the anomalies of plural voting and university representation; to aim at continuous registration, accompanied by a general systematisation and simplification of electoral machinery is commendable. In this connection, however, the most glaring omissions were the lack of provision for defraying Returning Officers' expenses, and for securing that Parties should have representation proportionate to their voting strength. As further proposals are inevitable, the Conference should decide on the principles it favours for insuring that while majorities shall rule, minorities get due representation. This must be determined in view of the two proposals being advocated. The Second Ballot is now discarded for the Alternative Vote. This contemplates a system of universal single-membered constituencies, whereunder voters would be required to declare a second preference to take effect in the event of their first choice being unsuccessful. Whilst this would secure that a majority in a constituency would win the seat, it affords no guarantee that the smaller parties would get fair representation. Further, it appears unavoidable that understandings should be reached prior to elections with one of the larger Parties, both nationally and locally. It is well known that I prefer the method of Proportional Representation. Experience shows that it gives representation closely approximating to voting strength, and that the attitude of other Parties cannot possibly destroy the chances of any Party. I gladly note the question is to be discussed. For myself, I only desire that a decision be reached on a clear understanding of the implications of the case.

The question of Women's Enfranchisement is unfortunately still undecided. The Labour Movement has consistently urged that all adult persons, regardless of sex, should enjoy the full rights of citizenship. In accord therewith the Party strives to secure the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as now suggested for men, that is, for Adult Suffrage. Our fervent desire is that the barrier of sex be removed, and working women and wives of workers be accorded the Right to Vote. This will be pursued in the manner deemed best calculated to achieve an early and satisfactory settlement of this vexed question. Whatever happens, Labour does not abandon the claim of women to enfranchisement, in the belief that it is founded on social justice, and the natural and irresistible law of human progress.

An outstanding event of the year has been the advent of *The Daily Citizen*. This appreciably adds to Labour's ability to repel the invader, and to diffuse enlightenment as to the doings of the Party and the aims of the Movement. All connected with this venture are deserving of congratulation. In general appearance, collection of news, and appropriateness of articles, it is a worthy production. Already it has done signal service, notably in the Hollow-ware struggle, the North-Eastern Railway strike, and other disputes. Its vindication of Labour's rights, and the dissemination of truthful news respecting the nature of grievances and the justifications of revolt, have sensibly contributed to successes gained. An organ to represent the Movement was badly needed. There are plenty of papers to criticise, to magnify our limitations, and to defend opposing interests. *The Daily Citizen* is entitled to the active support of every friend of Labour. All should buy it regularly, for the greater its circulation the wider its influence.

With this weapon at its disposal the Party is freer to devote itself to the promotion of palliative and constructional reforms. Endeavour will be made to extend the principle of the Trades Boards Act, 1909, to every low-paid industry, including that of agriculture. The elevation of the rural worker by enacting a minimum wage and improved housing will materially ease the labour problem. Were country life made brighter and better the drift to the towns could be checked and the pressure of surplus labour be reduced. To facilitate this a committee has been appointed to formulate an agricultural and land policy. Investigations are being prosecuted and evidence taken. There seems no doubt that agriculture can be made to bear a living wage. Howbeit, every Socialist and Labourist will agree that adequate remuneration is the title of every worker. If an industry does not yield that it is parasitic in character, its deficiencies having to be borne, in various forms, by other industries. Thus we insist that the agricultural labourer, with all other workers, shall have a reward equal to meeting the whole necessities of life. Placing this obligation upon agriculture will, it is believed, compel cultivators to adopt more scientific methods, whereby the productivity of land can be enormously increased.

No less urgent is the question of housing. The agricultural labourer is frequently tied to a house as a condition of employment. From this he must be released, as it fetters his action and restricts his liberty. There is no hope that this problem can be dealt with without State aid. Private enterprise has particularly failed in rural parts. True, this proposal of State assistance cuts athwart the preconceived economic notions of some, who see in it nothing but a subsidy to employers and landlords. These overlook the moral factor. Give the rural worker a reasonable wage, with a free home in place of the tied-house, then he

acquires a sense of manliness and freedom which eminently fits him for progressive developments. The experiment of the Irish Labourers' Acts, under which some 42,600 houses have been built by State aid, gives confirmation to this theory.

Were all sections of labour to unite definite steps in the direction of public ownership could be taken. Railway Nationalisation, for instance, is a practicable proposition. With the pooling of interests, and the amalgamation of rival companies, great administrative economies are being effected, and a huge trust being created. Labour is speeded-up, its status reduced, prospects of promotion decreased, and the railwayman tends to become chained to a subsistence level. Trade and commerce are in the grip of a great menace, being unable to contemplate either lowered rates or enhanced facilities. Transit is a public necessity which should not be privately exploited. Last year the Telephone service was transferred from company to public ownership, with scarcely a ripple disturbing the country. A similar transference of railways could be as orderly and easily accomplished. Then at least would open up a vista of improvement for workers and encouragement to trade. It has long appeared to me that one of the greatest possible railway reforms would be the inauguration of uniform rates, on the principle of the postal service. This would give a wonderful stimulus to industry, would tend to equalise competitive conditions, and, incidentally, help prick the bubble of inflated land values.

The manner in which consumers suffer in the prices of coal make it desirable that the same principle be applied to mines and coal supply. Now that the Miner's Federation have prepared a Bill for this purpose it is apparent that an evil is recognised and a remedy suggested. Shrieks of confiscation will arise, but need have no more foundation than in the case of the Telephone service. Anyhow, community interests must always take precedence of individual interests. The public must be protected from the exactions of private holders. A demand for land stimulated by a Small Holdings Act causes an unwarranted rise in price. The only effective remedy is to enable public authorities to acquire land on the basis of public valuation. Whilst holding the time opportune for the acquisition of rural lands, I would, as a temporary expedient, place higher taxation on urban values. This does not imply acceptance of the Single Tax theory. The only defensible single tax is that of graduated income-tax, for here is assuredly reflected a person's ability to pay. Yet one exclusive form of taxation is not expedient. Other considerations enter, such as the moral desirability of limiting consumption in the case of intoxicating liquors, and with land taxation the forcing of land into use. Unearned increment exists in all forms of swollen wealth. Wherever found, these social values should more and more be diverted to social utility.

Internationally, the Party continues to cultivate friendly and peaceful relations with other peoples. The restrained action of the Powers in connection with the War in the Balkans indicate a new-born deference to European working-class opinion. Wide acceptance is accorded the view that, under modern conditions, war exhausts the victor and the vanquished alike, and that the profit and advantage ensuing to the successful nation is illusory. But the jealousy and mistrust which so largely inflames passion and make for war and warlike preparations, are surely being allayed by the promotion of mutual understandings between the various democracies. These see that while estimates soar higher, security is unattainable, owing to the machinations of ambitious and vainglorious rulers, and the sordid quest for dividends by interests that thrive on the manufacture of death-dealing instruments.

Finally, our immediate need is unity, together with propaganda and organisation, for the lack of which no amount of enthusiasm during an election can atone. Our task is gigantic, but the future is pregnant with great hope. An eminent scientist recently announced that we were within measurable distance of time when life will be produced artificially in the laboratory. Interesting as is speculation on the process of change from lifeless to organic matter, research of this kind sheds no light on the urgent and grave problem of "how to live!" To win the right to work and to live is fundamental to our movement. Everywhere the past presses against the present and causes the upspringing of new demands and fresh impulses. Responding thereto let us determine to create that mighty push which is destined to carry us far towards the realisation of our loftiest purposes.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) moved :

*That the best thanks of the Conference be tendered to Mr. Roberts for his Address.*

He did not wish to flatter Mr. Roberts at all but he had the pleasure and honour of having in Mr. Roberts a personal friend. Consequently, he felt somewhat diffident about praise on account of the relationship which existed. The truest method of finding the appreciation of the British Labour Movement for Mr. Roberts was to look at the way the members of the Movement received the news of his severe illness. He could be relied upon at all times and in every circumstance to act the part of a true gentleman.

He (the speaker) thought he would be speaking for the whole Conference when he expressed pleasure at seeing the Chairman back. The length of his Address proved his physical recovery; the thought embodied in the Address proved that he could still think in a straight line. Those who could think and speak in a straight line were the men the Movement needed.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers), seconded the motion, and said he would like to congratulate the Chairman on being unanimously elected to preside over what he hoped would be the most intelligent Congress in connection with the Labour

Movement. The Chairman was only a little man, but it was to be hoped that he would be able to rule with firmness and fairness.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he was keenly appreciative of the vote. He only wished to make one allusion to what had been said regarding his recent illness. He was glad to be back, glad to be again at work in the Movement, and trusted that many years would be spared to him to continue his work.

#### ELECTION OF TELLERS.

The nominations and voting were as follows :—

##### ELECTED.

H. Smith ( <i>Miners</i> ) ..	246
F. Sewell ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	189
Ben Riley ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) ..	147
Jas. Anderson ( <i>Stevedores</i> ) ..	89
H. H. Elvin ( <i>Clerks</i> ) ..	61
H. Sharp ( <i>A.S. Engineers</i> ) ..	67

##### NOT ELECTED.

D. R. Campbell ( <i>Belfast T.C.</i> ) ..	31
A. Short ( <i>Sheffield T.C.</i> ) ..	30
Wm. McGhie ( <i>Bookbinders</i> ) ..	30
H. Ludlow Crofts ( <i>Ilford T.C.</i> ) ..	16
T. Cripwell ( <i>Wheelwrights</i> ) ..	14

At this point the Conference adjourned for lunch and resumed at 2 p.m.

#### ELECTION OF STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

##### ELECTED.

V. Hartshorn ( <i>Miners</i> ) ..	251
R. C. Wallhead ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) ..	143
E. Holden ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	138
H. Gosling ( <i>Watermen, &amp;c.</i> ) ..	112
H. Skinner ( <i>Typo. Association</i> ) ..	86

##### NOT ELECTED.

D. R. Campbell ( <i>Belfast T.C.</i> ) ..	55
Tom Proctor ( <i>A.S. Engineers</i> ) ..	36
J. Kelly ( <i>Bookbinders</i> ) ..	32
J. P. Delaney ( <i>Amal. Carpenters</i> ) ..	29

#### ELECTION OF SCRUTINEERS.

##### ELECTED.

D. Gilmour ( <i>Miners</i> ) ..	205
E. Duxbury ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	140
Victor Morgan ( <i>Gasworkers</i> ) ..	125
J. H. Standing ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) ..	118
J. O'Connor Kessack ( <i>Dockers</i> ) ..	104

##### NOT ELECTED.

Ben Cooper ( <i>Cigarmakers</i> ) ..	58
H. Hopkins ( <i>A.S. Engineers</i> ) ..	45
J. Cotter ( <i>Ship's Stewards</i> ) ..	34
G. Harraway ( <i>Bookbinders</i> ) ..	14
T. Cripwell ( <i>Wheelwrights</i> ) ..	14

#### FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

MR. J. A. SEDDON, bringing fraternal greetings from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, said that he hoped the brevity of his remarks would not be taken as the measure of the respect the Committee felt for that magnificent Conference. He represented the Trade Union army that day and was instructed to carry their

fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of the labour of the Conference. It was true that the Labour Party had its critics, but fortunately it also had its friends, and during the last few months his friend, Mr. Robert Smillie, and himself had had the privilege of fraternising with their fellow Trade Unionists of the United States, and were delighted to find with what pleasure and admiration they regarded the work accomplished by the Labour Party in this country. Continuing, Mr. Seddon said that the next few years would probably be the most trying time in its whole history for organised labour in the United States, owing to the anticipation of the policy of the incoming President. They felt that the next few years would see a great advance towards the consolidation of the Labour forces in America, and they were glad to know that it would be modelled on the lines of the Labour Party of Great Britain. Some of them, particularly those in the House of Commons, knew some of the difficulties of the Party, and he would say to them, "Let us be careful not to split up into small groups, which can dissolve but not create; let us unite to fight the enemy without the gate." Labour had enemies enough without the gate, and if the rank and file recognised that they met with one object, if they recognised that the creation of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement was for the uplift of the workers as a whole, they would have plenty to do without fighting one another inside the gate. He hoped the Conference in their deliberations would come to wise conclusions; he hoped that at the end they would all go back to their respective districts feeling stronger in the faith and believing that the ultimate salvation, the economic emancipation and the political enfranchisement of both men and women lay in the hands of organised Labour as represented by the Labour Party.

MR. W. A. APPLETON (Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions), desired to echo the good wishes expressed by Mr. Seddon. He noticed in the agenda two matters of vital importance. The first was the "Right to Strike"—the right of a man to strike when he felt that the conditions of his labour were such that he could not continue to labour unless he did so to the detriment of his health or his pocket or the welfare of his family. The second point was the "Right of the Majority to Rule." It had always been understood in every properly organised assembly, in every legislative assembly, and in every other organisation that the majority had the right to rule; but the judges of the land had decreed that the minority should rule, and he hoped that one result of the deliberations of the Conference would be the dissipation of that idea. In a Movement like theirs, there were bound to be different points of view. It would be disastrous to the whole Movement if they all thought alike and all proceeded along the same lines. He believed in every man having the right to think as he

liked and to speak as he liked ; but he hoped that the three great Labour organisations would always prove loyal one to the other, and if they disagreed would do so among themselves ; when it came to facing an enemy, he hoped, and was sure, that they would present a solid front, knowing that in their loyalty to each other and the due observance of the responsibility lying upon them lay the future welfare of those behind them.

THE CHAIRMAN assured the fraternal delegates of the pleasure of the Conference in receiving them and heartily reciprocated the greetings they had so eloquently conveyed.

#### POPLAR L.R.C.

MR. R. WILLIAMS (N.A. Labourers' Union), asked whether it would be advisable to allow the Conference to decide whether the Poplar L.R.C. should be allowed representation. He thought it desirable that Mr. Lansbury should be allowed to have a hearing.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the matter had been referred to the Standing Orders Committee, and when the Committee submitted its report any delegate could raise the question.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Executive's Report was taken paragraph by paragraph.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

After the Chairman had reported certain alterations in the figures in this paragraph,

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) asked what steps were taken to find out that Unions and other bodies had sent in their proper membership.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the Executive had to trust to the statements sent in. It was not competent for them to ask Unions for permission to go through their books.

MR. R. WILLIAMS (N.A. Labourers' Union) called attention to the fact that the fees paid by the Miners' Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants did not tally with the recorded membership and asked what principle of card voting would obtain at the Conference. In the past the only justification for card voting had been that taxation and representation should go together.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. (Secretary) said that the situation that had been brought to the notice of the Conference was no new one. It had been in existence to a greater or lesser degree ever since the Osborne Judgment. The policy adopted by the Executive was a policy of compromise—a tentative policy—which had as its object the retention of all the Unions that had been subject to injunctions. The Executive in every case, however, took the precaution that no matter what membership a Union was paying upon during any given year, that Union had to give an undertaking to repay to the funds of the Party all that was owing in consequence of

the injunction immediately it was made possible by new legislation. The Executive had either to choose that course or to dismiss from affiliation a much larger number of Unions than they would have liked to contemplate.

MR. R. WILLIAMS said he would like to urge upon the delegates the importance that societies that were not paying up to their full numerical strength ought only to have voting power according to what they had paid.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN (I.L.P.) said he wished to point out that Mr. Henderson had not answered the point raised, and that was whether those Unions, the Miners' Federation for example, would have a voting strength on its returned membership of 550,000 although it had not paid affiliation fees on that membership.

MR. HENDERSON said he thought he had given an answer : there was no need to Burke anything. The question had been up before and neither Mr. Snowden nor Mr. Williams had objected to anybody exercising the votes they then exercised, and if the policy had been in existence for two or three years, who had to decide that the policy should be changed ? Not the Executive : the Executive had been giving effect to a policy which had been approved and they had no power to lessen the voting strength of the Miners' Federation or any other organisation.

MR. R. WILLIAMS moved :

That cards be allotted to the Miners' Federation only in proportion to the amount of finances received from the Federation.

He thought that would be only right and proper. The Executive might gerrymander their statistical report as much as they liked, but the fact remained that there were not 1,895,748 men behind the Labour Party. He wanted the Labour Movement to realise the position. He wanted to curtail the coercive influence exercised by the Miners' Federation at these Conferences now that there was an opportunity.

The motion was formally seconded.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation) said that if the Miners were in debt to the Labour Party the Miners would pay that debt. He regretted to have to say it, but it came with very bad grace from his friend and comrade, Mr. Williams, to make such a charge against the Miners' Federation. As most of the delegates would be aware, the miners came through a fierce struggle during the past year—a struggle which rendered most of the branches bankrupt. Some were still paying money borrowed during that dispute. Since the miners' dispute the transport workers had had a dispute in London, and Mr. Williams, representing the Transport Workers' Federation, made an appeal to the miners who had just finished their struggle. If the miners had the money they had given to other Unions, Mr. Williams' Union amongst them, the miners would be able

to pay their debt and more. A bankrupt organisation levied men who were in debt already in order to assist friends in a worse plight than themselves, largely at the request of Mr. Williams. Having done so, he could scarcely believe that the miners would be attacked at the Conference by the man who appealed to them for assistance. The vast majority of the branches of the Miners' Federation had injunctions standing against them. Those who had not been injunctioned had gone on paying to the Party; and they had always been represented because they recognised as a debt that which had not been paid. He thought he could guarantee that the Miners' Federation did not owe a single penny to the Trade Union Movement or the Labour Party that they were not willing to pay and recognise as a debt. It would not be good enough to reduce their voting strength at the Conference. The fair and right course would be to expel from membership those who were not paying. That would be a logical position and the miners would face it if the Conference decided to do so. But in view of the fact that they had guaranteed to pay they would not sit and allow their voting strength to be reduced. He would refuse absolutely to allow the statement to go past that the miners' vote in the past had been used harshly against other Unions. It never had. They had never taken up the time of the Conference; and they had endeavoured to treat the smallest society, as far as voting was concerned, in the same way as a large society. He sincerely hoped the Conference would not take up the position proposed merely because they had not been able to keep up their full contributions in view of the fact that when the time came—as come it would—when they would be able to pay up, they would do so. The Federation held themselves responsible and were honourable enough to see that every copper due to the Party was paid in the near future.

MR. J. O'CONNOR KESSACK (Dock Labourers) said he represented a section of the Transport Workers' Federation, and he regretted that the question had been raised in such a way. Certainly the transport workers had no enmity towards the miners and did not wish in any way to injure the miners' representation at the Conference. He thought, however, at such a time it was opportune to say something about the miners' vote.

THE CHAIRMAN said that a discussion on how the miners used their vote would not be in order on the paragraph on membership.

MR. J. E. WILLIAMS (Railway Servants) said he was much obliged to Mr. Kessack for letting it be known that the transport workers as a whole were not objecting to the particular principle concerned.

MR. R. WILLIAMS, interrupting, said he was not present as representing the Transport Workers' Federation; he was representing his own Union which was a constituent part of the Federation.

THE CHAIRMAN said he wanted the Conference to understand that the point was whether the paragraph should be referred back or be adopted. The motion of Mr. R. Williams would be:

That the paragraph be referred back.

MR. J. E. WILLIAMS, resuming, said that it was an unfortunate and unfair time to raise such a matter. It was the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants that submitted the resolution that brought the Labour Party into existence and it had been faithful to the Party even when it was passing through adversity. It had faced that adversity manfully and his Executive had given a written declaration to the Labour Party that immediately it was possible to levy the members to pay the dues it would be done.

The motion that the paragraph be referred back was then put and declared lost.

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN reported recommendations from the Standing Orders Committee as follows:

(1) *As an international appeal was being made regarding the Balkan situation and letters would be read, a resolution should be moved by the Executive when the Executive's Report had been disposed of.*

(2) *That a request to place a petition at the entrance to the hall for the release of Mrs. Despard from prison, to be signed by the delegates, be acceded to.*

(3) *That a composite resolution on the Franchise question be submitted at 10.30 on Thursday morning.*

The recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

#### BYE-ELECTIONS.

MR. C. G. AMMON (Bermondsey L.R.C.) asked whether in any of the contests difficulties arose through any affiliated Socialist Society acting in opposition to the official Labour Candidates; also whether the resolution passed at the last Conference at the instance of the Cambridge Labour Party had been communicated to all the affiliated societies and what replies had been received.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said that in none of the bye-elections had there been any difficulty with the local organisations of the character referred to. The resolution passed at the last Conference was printed in the Conference Report and circulated in that way only.

MR. AMMON asked if any replies had been received.

MR. HENDERSON replied in the negative.

MR. AMMON said he desired to move the reference back of the paragraph in order to call attention to the fact that a Society affiliated to the Party was actually at that time opposing official Labour Candidates in contests for the London County Council elections. The resolution referred to was

the notice of that Society and they decided to ignore it. He wanted to know whether it was any good leaders saying the Movement was united when the rank and file found themselves opposed by those who said they belonged to the Party. In Bermondsey there was a member of the Fabian Society running as a Liberal against the Labour Candidate.

THE CHAIRMAN said he understood Mr. Ammon's remarks had reference to a municipal contest. The Executive had no control over bodies in respect to local elections and therefore he must rule Mr. Ammon's point out of order.

MR. AMMON wanted to know whether the Party had any control over constituent bodies of the Party.

THE CHAIRMAN said there was every desire to allow the delegates to ventilate any grievance they might have but Mr. Ammon's point did not really come within the scope of the paragraph under discussion.

MR. A. SHORT (Sheffield Trades Council) said he had had occasion repeatedly to call attention of Conference to the matter of organisation in various constituencies represented by members of the Miners' Federation. He noted that the Executive had made approaches to the Miners' Federation with a view to getting its assistance in the formation of electoral machinery in those constituencies. The Sheffield Trades Council's influence politically had been jeopardised considerably by the lack of organisation in mining divisions immediately in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, and also by the peculiar conduct of the Labour Members representing those constituencies. He wanted to know definitely whether there was any likelihood of anything being done with regard to the setting up of organisations in those places. On previous occasions it had been indicated that the matter was a difficult one but the Conference was assured that something would be done. This was the fourth Conference he had attended and up to the present they were in the same position. He was instructed to ascertain definitely what was being done.

THE CHAIRMAN said the point was a familiar one. The Executive had exercised every endeavour to promote good organisation in every constituency. In the ultimate result it was a question for the locality itself and the Executive could only advise and co-operate in the matter. He could assure Mr. Short and the Conference that the Executive was fully seized of the importance of the point and was doing everything possible to cope with it.

#### SCOTTISH ORGANISATION.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation moved):—

*That the paragraph be referred back for further consideration.*

He hoped the Executive would understand that it was not in any spirit of fault-finding

that he called attention to this paragraph. He wished to make an appeal. They did not wish to move against the acceptance of the paragraph but desired to appeal to the Executive to withdraw it for a year in order that a representative conference of the four committees appointed by the Scottish conferences might be called together and take fully into consideration with regard to the scheme. He took it that the Executive would be extremely anxious to unite the largest possible force of Labour opinion in Scotland and to secure their assistance in connection with Labour organisation for Parliamentary purposes. But if a start was made with an Advisory Committee which had not behind it the whole-hearted support of anything like the majority of the active workers in the advanced Labour Movement in Scotland they were not likely to have the best results. He noticed that a special sub-committee of the Executive gave full consideration to the various drafts submitted and subsequently made proposals to the Scottish organisations. He took that to mean that proposals were submitted to the four committees appointed by the four conferences. But it was not stated what had resulted from the submission of those proposals. His information was that the conference held in Glasgow represented more than one-half, indeed a very large majority of the Trade Unions and the other advanced bodies in Scotland. His information was that that committee had almost unanimously decided to protest against the scheme contained in the Report. He did not know the position of the other three committees; but, supposing the Conference adopted the scheme, was it likely to be a success in the face of opposition such as he had indicated? He ventured to say it would not. Personally, he was particularly anxious that something of a tangible nature should be done to unite more closely all the advanced forces in Scotland for the purpose of securing more widespread Labour Representation. The Miners of Scotland had considered the matter and had decided to vote against the paragraph on the grounds he had stated. He did not wish to enter into a discussion on the proposed constitution of the Council and the Executive further than to say that in his opinion it was absolutely unfair to the Trade Union Movement in Scotland. It could not be justified on any grounds of fair play or justice. It could only be justified on the ground of expediency and there had been too much of that in the past. The Miners of Scotland were willing to give all the possible help they could and if he went into the details of the scheme it would seem like finding fault with the Labour Party Executive. On behalf of the Miners of Scotland, of the committee of the West of Scotland, and of the Trade Union Movement of this country, he asked that a false position should not be taken up, and though he knew the Executive were anxious to get to work at once he asked them to agree to withdraw the paragraph this year and call a conference to draft a scheme which would succeed in

arrying with it the unanimous voice of the active political workers of Scotland.

The motion was formally seconded.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said he desired to assure Mr. Smillie, if it was necessary, that the Executive had no intention of enforcing upon the Movement in Scotland any particular scheme. They had been satisfied, as the result of close attention to Scotland during the last few years, that from the standpoint of organisation there was much to be desired right throughout the country. He thought many of the Scottish organisations would agree with that statement. Some two years before a conference was held in Edinburgh when the matter received the fullest consideration. Eventually four conferences were held; one in Glasgow, one in Aberdeen, one in Dundee, and one in Edinburgh. He attended the whole of those conferences, the matter was very fully considered, and a committee was appointed at each conference to send forward to the National Executive what they conceived to be the best proposals for the formation of a constitution for Scotland. That was done and the Executive set to work to try to bring the various suggestions together and make one concrete scheme. Mr. Smillie stated that Glasgow rejected the scheme, but he thought it was right to say that Glasgow rejected the scheme on entirely different grounds to those of the Miners.

MR. SMILLIE, interrupting, said that the delegates at the Glasgow Conference represented a majority of the organised workers of the West of Scotland.

MR. HENDERSON, continuing, said that when he mentioned Glasgow he ought to have said Glasgow and the West of Scotland; he meant those who were represented at the Glasgow conference and on the committee appointed by that conference. He wished to be corrected if he was wrong. The committee of Glasgow and the West of Scotland—he had their letter before him—seemed to him to object on entirely different grounds to those taken by the Miners. He understood the Miners' objection was that there was no direct representation.

MR. SMILLIE : No.

MR. HENDERSON said that he was therefore unable to understand what the objection was. The strong point of objection, so far as he could see from the Glasgow letter, was the division of the financial cost. Mr. Smillie had made the suggestion that the matter should be referred back till next year. Whilst he was anxious to meet Mr. Smillie and his friends, was there not a better way than to waste an entire year? If this constitution was accepted it could only be tentative; Mr. Smillie would be able to propose any alterations at the first Council meeting. The Executive were anxious to get as perfect a scheme as possible, and he was quite sure that if the present scheme was accepted, and the Executive allowed to get into consultation with the Scottish Com-

mittees, to appoint the secretary, and get the work started, it would be very much better than to leave the whole thing over for another twelve months. If any benefit was to be got out of the scheme the longer it was in operation before a General Election the better it would be for the entire Party in Scotland. He wished the delegates to keep that aspect of the case in mind. The executive were prepared to accept any reasonable modification, but he was sure that to refer the whole matter back was not in the interests of the Movement in Scotland.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) said he desired to support the reference back but from a totally different standpoint. He did not see any earthly reason for setting up an organisation inside an organisation—a geographical division of the forces. If a separate organisation of this character was to be set up for Scotland, should one be set up for Ireland, one for Wales, one for the industrial districts of England, and one for the agricultural districts? Why should Scotland have, in any shape or form, preferential treatment? Why should nationalities be split up? Were there any problems in Scotland that did not obtain in England or Wales? If there were any problems of that kind there were sufficient Scotsmen on the Executive to deal with them. He deprecated altogether this method of organising, and he believed that if the principle were adopted it would only lead to trouble in the future. Inevitably, the same thing would be claimed for the four different countries. There would then be five separate bodies dealing with the same questions, doing the work twice over, with no satisfactory result. Scotland was no worse situated than any other part of the country, and because he believed it would be a step in the wrong direction he supported the reference back of the paragraph with the idea of knocking out the whole scheme.

MR. WM. MCGHIE (Bookbinders) said he supported Mr. Smillie as one knowing something about Scottish organisation. The Conference ought not to adopt any constitution until there was more unanimity in Scotland. He urged that Mr. Smillie's contention was a good one, and the paragraph ought to be remitted back in order to secure an adequate constitution.

MR. J. ROBERTSON (Miners' Federation), supporting the motion, said that one or two very strong objections could be taken to the scheme. Everybody would agree that better organisation was required in Scotland, but at the same time, to have effective organisation they must carry with it the people who were to do the work. The representation on the Council was to be based upon one delegate for every 10,000 members or part thereof. The Scottish Miners' Federation, for instance, which formed more than half of the organised workers in Scotland, would have eight delegates for something like 80,000 members. Then the Scottish I.L.P. Council was entitled to two delegates and the Women's Labour

League to one delegate. About twenty small organisations with less than 10,000 members would have double or three times the representation of the Scottish Miners' Federation with 80,000 men. He submitted that they could not unite the organised workers upon the representation proposed. The representation was even worse on the Executive. There would be three from the Scottish Trade Unions and the Scottish District Councils of British Trade Unions, only one of whom should be nominated by any one trade; that was to say, the organisation he represented would have only one representative upon that Executive Committee. Then, whereas on the Advisory Council the Women's Labour League was only to be entitled to one delegate, taking its membership at its fullest strength, and the Miners to eight delegates, the Women's Labour League were to have the same representation on the Executive as the Miners. He asked the Executive whether they thought they could unite the Scottish Trade Unions on a scheme of that kind. It was all very well for Mr. Henderson to say, Let the scheme be accepted and it can be altered next year. He (the speaker) held very strongly that before such a scheme was submitted to Conference an attempt ought to have been made to get some common agreement in Scotland. He hoped the Executive would have some consideration for the actual circumstances existing in Scotland and would endeavour to go on something like broad and democratic lines.

MR. O'CONNOR KESSACK (Dock Labourers) said he was opposed to reference back on the terms proposed by Mr. Smillie and Mr. Robertson. He would like to move that the Conference adopt the scheme and remit the basis of representation for further consideration. He quite agreed that something could be said about the representation not being all that could be desired from a democratic point of view. Whilst the Miners were calling out for much greater representation and complaining particularly of the representation conceded to the I.L.P. and the Women's Labour League, they ought not to forget that they could only run candidates in those constituencies where those two bodies had been active. He knew from personal experience that the organisation in Scotland was not worth the name of organisation at all. He had had the misfortune to contest a constituency twice, and on both occasions no organisation assisted until the fight actually began. Another man was now the prospective candidate for that constituency and no work was being done because there was no directing force. The need for central organisation and a directing man was very urgent indeed.

MR. J. A. WATERHOUSE (Railway Workers) said the scheme would act very fairly to the smaller and weaker organisations. If it was referred back it seemed to him that the Miners would carry the whole thing on account of superiority of numbers. That he objected to. The smaller societies should have some voice on the Executive.

MR. DUNCAN GRAHAM (Miners' Federation) asked whether the other three committees that were appointed had agreed to accept the recommendations of the National Executive.

MR. HENDERSON replied in the affirmative.

MR. GRAHAM said it therefore resolved itself into the point that the West of Scotland Committee had unanimously rejected the proposals put forward. He wished to say that that committee and the Scottish Miners' Federation were unanimously of opinion that it would be better for Scotland to have no scheme at all than the scheme suggested. The West of Scotland committee represented more than one-half of the organised workers of Scotland and they were not seeking special representation at all. Mr. Kessack had said that there was no organisation at all in certain constituencies that had been fought by the Miners. In mining constituencies in Scotland the circumstances were entirely different to those in the other Labour constituencies in that country. The Miners were fighting county seats and in those constituencies the only political organisation that existed was the Miners. They did not want to have to reject the scheme. They were anxious that something should be done and they put forward certain proposals which were not accepted. They did not quarrel about that, but at the same time they suggested that a Conference representative of the various committees appointed and the special sub-committee of the Executive should meet and endeavour to draw up a scheme that would be mutually satisfactory.

MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER (Ealing L.R.C.) asked whether the passing of the paragraph would preclude the representation of the Fabian Society.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that it would not; it was intended to include the Fabian Society.

MR. J. ROBERTSON asked whether he was to understand that in spite of anything contained in the paragraph the Executive would have power to add other organisations not mentioned.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said that it ought to have been explained that representations had been made that on the Executive and Council no provision had been made for the Fabian Society in Scotland. The National Executive itself was not constituted on the basis of numbers. The Miners' Federation had only one representative on it. What the Executive was anxious to have was a network of the entire Movement in Scotland. It had been pointed out that the Fabian Society had been overlooked and it had been decided to recommend the Conference that the Fabian Society should be included by having one representative.

The motion was then put and there voted

For referring the paragraph back	225
Against	105

## INTERNATIONAL.

MR. R. WILLIAMS (N.A. Labourers' Union) said he wished to move the reference back of that part dealing with the British Socialist Party, because it was an indication that the Executive were satisfied with the present tactics of the Labour Party. He did not agree with that policy.

THE CHAIRMAN said he had to ask Mr. Williams to bear in mind that the whole of his point could be covered under the specific head of policy. This paragraph was simply a record of business transacted.

MR. WILLIAMS asked whether by passing it meant acquiescence.

THE CHAIRMAN said it would only mean acquiescence in the Executive's action.

MR. WILLIAMS said that in his opinion by passing the paragraph the Conference acquiesced in the policy of the Parliamentary Party.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that it was simply a report of International Socialist Bureau business. If it was not a correct report of the business actually done then it was competent to raise it.

MR. F. KNEE (London T.C.) asked whether the acceptance of the paragraph did not endorse the position taken up by the Executive.

THE CHAIRMAN replied in the affirmative.

MR. KNEE said that in that case he did not endorse that position. He was more in sympathy with the charges made than the replies thereto.

THE CHAIRMAN said Mr. Knece was endeavouring to make a speech which, according to his ruling as Chairman, was not admissible at this point. The question of Party policy could be discussed under that specific head. There could be only one debate on a specific issue.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said it was a statement of fact as to what the British Section of the Bureau—not the Executive—had done. Charges had been made in connection with an application for separate affiliation to the International and the British Section, with which the Executive was affiliated, felt that it was its business to reply to those charges. It was not Executive business in the ordinary sense.

MR. J. W. OGDEN (Textile Workers) said that questions had been sent out to societies regarding the calling of a General Strike in the event of war, and he would like to know if any replies had been received.

MR. HENDERSON said that very few replies indeed had come in. They knew it took some Trade Unions a long time to move, but it was still hoped to receive replies although the time allowed had long since expired.

## JOINT BOARD.

MR. H. DUBERY (I.L.P.) asked whether a statement that the Secretary of the British Seafarers' Union was not invited to appear

before the Joint Board was true; and if he was not invited, whether the case would be re-opened.

THE CHAIRMAN said they were assured by the Secretary to the Joint Board that an invitation was given to the British Seafarers' Union to be represented through their President.

MR. T. LEWIS (Southampton T.C.) said he would, if necessary, move that the question of the affiliation of the British Seafarers' Union be referred back to the Executive to submit it again to the Joint Board. He said emphatically that the Union never received any intimation whatever that a meeting of the Joint Board was to be held on the 19th of December last. He craved the indulgence of the Conference for a few moments.

THE CHAIRMAN said the only point that could be moved was a reference back. It was not competent for the Conference to discuss the case. The Joint Board was the body for that.

MR. LEWIS said he did not want to discuss the merits of the case: he wanted to discuss the process regarding the application. The application for affiliation arose out of a request by the Secretary of the Party. When the unfortunate *Titanic* disaster took place, the Union had occasion to write to the Party asking for support in the House of Commons, and the Assistant Secretary wrote back asking whether the Union had ever considered the advisability of affiliating to the Party. The matter was considered at a general meeting of the Union, and it decided to apply for affiliation. The Assistant Secretary then wrote and said the matter would be considered by the Executive, and he subsequently asked for the rules and stated that the Executive had decided to refer the matter to the Joint Board. Matters went on for some three or four months—

MR. J. SEXTON (Dock Labourers) rose to a point of order, and asked whether as Mr. Lewis was at the Conference as the representative of the Southampton Trades Council he was in order in raising the case as Secretary of the British Seafarers' Union.

THE CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Lewis was representing an affiliated body and it was competent for him to raise the point. He thought it would be possible to come to an understanding. The Executive were quite agreeable to bring the matter again under the notice of the Joint Board. There was evidently in the mind of Mr. Lewis and his colleague the fact that they had not had proper intimation. In order to remove any sense of grievance the Executive were prepared to recommend its further consideration by the Joint Board.

MR. LEWIS said he would accept that.

MR. H. H. ELVIN asked whether the Joint Board had had under consideration the case of the Small Arms Employees' Union. That organisation was expelled from the Party

some four or five years ago and it was now using letter-paper on which there was a statement that it was affiliated to the Labour Party.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said he did not remember the point having been brought up since it was dealt with some three years ago. If Mr. Elvin had a complaint against the Union with regard to a statement on its note-heading and would let him have it, the matter would be brought before the Joint Board if necessary.

#### MR. GEORGE LANSBURY AND THE PARTY.

MR. R. WILLIAMS (N.A. Labourers' Union) moved:—

*That the discussion on this paragraph be deferred.*

He thought the paragraph should not be taken until the Conference had had an opportunity of deciding whether the Poplar L.R.C. were to be represented at the Conference.

This was formally seconded, and agreed to.

#### OSBORNE BILL.

COUNCILLOR MACTAVISH (Portsmouth T.C.) said the Conference decision to accept the Bill was a rather serious climb-down from the position taken up by the Conference of twelve months ago. On that occasion it was decided that rather than accept the Bill they would defy the law and go to prison. The fact of accepting the Bill went to show, he thought, that there was very little reality behind that resolve. He very much regretted the decision they had been compelled to come to. He recognised that it was the only possible one under the circumstances, because in his opinion the Party in this matter did not have behind it the full and active support of the Trade Unionists of the country. The weak character of the Bill was due to the weak-kneedness of the Trade Union Movement.

MR. J. CAVANAGH (Builders' Labourers) said he would like to enter a protest regarding the Conference that was held on the Osborne Bill. He had nothing but praise for the Labour Party and its representatives in the House of Commons for the way they fought to get the Bill as near as possible to the Labour Party's position, but he wished to protest strongly against the manner in which the debate was conducted at the Special Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN said he could not discuss that. Each Conference was responsible for its own proceedings.

#### PARTY DISCIPLINE.

THE CHAIRMAN said that as there would be an important discussion on this paragraph he would suggest that it be deferred till the next day.

This was agreed to.

#### STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gas Workers) asked whether the Executive had paid the whole of the accounts in connection with the Crewe bye-election.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said that the Crewe election came at a very peculiar time. The local people were desirous of fighting. Unfortunately, like a number of other places, little or no preparation had been made, but the Executive were unanimously of opinion that the circumstances demanded that at all costs the election should be fought. The election was fought, and the only way that it could be fought was for the National Executive to make itself responsible for the election expenses.

MR. THORNE said the Executive had broken its own constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the Executive had to consider each case on its own merits and when it broke the constitution it reported to Conference for endorsement or otherwise.

#### AUDITORS' REPORT.

MR. ROBERT BROWN said that Mr. Bell and himself had gone over the books of the Party. They had had every facility to go over the accounts and had found vouchers for everything. The books were in perfect order.

MR. JAMES BELL said that they found the books strictly correct and everything quite easy for the auditors. The officials were willing to assist them in every way. No auditors could have had a more pleasant task.

MR. A. HENDERSON said he felt that they could not let the Statement of Accounts and the Report of the Auditors be accepted without making an appeal to the Conference. It was not the first occasion they had had to appeal, especially to the Trade Unions, to give some heed to the notice that was sent out with regard to paying dues to the Central Office before the end of the financial year. He thought he was right in saying that some £1,100 had been paid in since the books were closed. Months of notice was given and there was no Trade Union could put forward a justifiable excuse for not having sent in their dues before the year closed. Mr. Middleton, his assistant, who gave the greatest possible care to these things, found that it was becoming increasingly difficult to have the auditors in at one time and then so many payments pouring in after the financial year had ended. He hoped that next year he would not have to complain but that the payments would be sent in at a proper date.

#### LETTER FROM MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

MR. A. HENDERSON said that he wished to read a letter from Mr. MacDonald, who was in India serving on the Public Services Commission.

The letter was as follows :—

MADRAS,

7th January, 1913.

MY DEAR HENDERSON,

This is the last post which will catch you before the Conference, to the members of which I would like to send my warmest greetings. You will have to transact important business which will have a lasting influence upon the Party. Of course I should have liked to be with you, and sitting down to write to you thousands of miles away from you makes me feel very sad. But the Labour Party—least of all the Parties—does not depend upon leaders for its vitality, and that it is to have to come to important decisions led by nothing but its own common-sense and practical judgment, is really all to the good.

I have only been here a week but I wish my colleagues could hear, as I have done, how closely their work is being followed in India by friend and foe alike, and how every section of India that is politically alive recognises our power and importance. Everyone who sits down and surveys the events of the past year at home must recognise the same thing. We are not yet equal to what we ought to be, but the constituencies must remedy that. When we remember the bitter attacks made upon Trade Unionism on the Trade Unions Bill Committee, we can estimate what strength we shall require in the near future to ward off the deadly blows which will be aimed at us by those who see that organised Labour, working in conjunction with a political Labour Party, can beat all its enemies and not only keep for the wage-earner what he has won, but secure for him still greater gains in the future.

We have only had private sittings of the Commission up to now, but to-morrow we begin to take witnesses in public. The work is going to be very heavy, but I am glad to say that the ailments which troubled me for some time before I left England have gone and I am fitter than I have been for a long time.

With very kindest regards to you and all my friends,

I am,

Yours always sincerely,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The following message was also read :—

The Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party, in the name of the class-conscious workers of Germany, send their best wishes for the success of the Labour Party Conference to their comrades in arms in Great Britain.

It was agreed that a suitable acknowledgment be sent.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

#### THURSDAY'S SITTING.

##### PARTY DISCIPLINE.

THE CHAIRMAN moved the following amendment to the paragraph in the Report under the heading of "Party Discipline," the words underlined being substituted for original drafting :—

*1. Cases of alleged violation of the constitution in the country shall be at once reported to the Member concerned and unless his answer is satisfactory he shall be informed that his action is being reported to the organisation to which he is responsible. Should no satisfactory explanation be forthcoming from either the Member or his organisation, the matter shall be reported to a joint meeting of the Executive and the Parliamentary Party, who shall be empowered to withdraw the 'Whips' either temporarily or permanently.*

*2. When in the opinion of the Parliamentary Party the conduct of any Member in the House is contrary to the principles and policy of the Party as embodied in Conference resolutions, or is persistently opposed to the collective decisions of the Party, such Member shall be requested to explain his conduct to the Party. Should the explanation be considered unsatisfactory by a majority of the meeting, the case shall be reported to the organisation to which the Member is responsible. The reply if not satisfactory shall be discussed by a joint meeting of the Executive and the Parliamentary Party, who shall be empowered to withdraw the 'Whips' either temporarily or permanently."*

In moving the amended paragraph the Chairman said the amendment in no way altered the sense or the purport of the original form, but it had been suggested that the new words would make the whole thing much clearer and much more appropriate.

MR. J. BRUCE GLASIER (Independent Labour Party) thought it would be agreed that the resolution was one of the most important before the Conference. It was evident that it dealt with Members of Parliament, or men who expected to be such. Wherever a Parliamentary Labour Party, or a Socialist Party, had been established, in any part of the world, just so soon had come the keenest criticism. The Party became suspect. It was so in America, where only one man had been returned to the Congress, and who, he was sorry to say, lost his seat at the last election. In Italy, the Party was split into sections, each distrusting the other. He wished the Conference to recognise that just so soon as their Party was established in Parliament they found this discontent and criticism arising. He pointed that out so that they might be able to estimate it at its true value. He regarded the present Parliamentary Party in this way. It was partly Socialist and partly Trade Unionist. In the Socialist portion some were advanced

and some were moderate. In the Trade Unionist portion some were stalwart and some were not. Altogether the Party in the House, with all its defects, was more advanced than the aggregate of the workers in the country. It was quite evident that, if they were going to be united, they must see to it that, if they placed bonds round the Party, they must place them equally round the Members of Parliament, and that no attempt was made to discriminate between one section and another. Their organisation had grown up as a voluntary one. He did not believe in oaths, in pledges, or in binding ordinances; he did not believe in forging fetters or making halters. He believed in trusting to the good faith, the earnestness, and the conviction of men. But that was not the general feeling of the Movement. Complaints had been made and action had to be taken. The resolution endeavoured to carry out the feeling of the Movement. He believed in prevention rather than cure. The best thing was to begin by sending the right men to Parliament. He wanted the resolution to be tried for a year. Next year he would move its abolition if it was found that it did not work. It was an endeavour to strengthen the Party in the House to do well if it wished to do well, and he earnestly appealed to the Conference to adopt it unanimously, if possible. Mr. Shaw, in a recent speech, had raised the ideal of Socialism to its very highest plane. He would that in that Conference, and in the Movement generally, they had more of it, and he hoped that the result of that Conference would be that they would look to the future with more trust, and that as far as possible sectional jealousies would disappear.

MR. WILL THORNE, M.P., took it that the resolution was brought forward in consequence of what happened at the election of their friend Lansbury. The Chairman shook his head, but he was under the impression that if it had not been for Mr. Lansbury resigning his seat and contesting Bow and Bromley on the question of women's suffrage this resolution would not have been brought forward at all. Some days before the party came to a decision upon the matter he (the speaker), with three or four others, including Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Keir Hardie, and Mr. O'Grady, had already given a pledge that they would go down to help to get Mr. Lansbury returned. As a man of honour, and even if he had lost his seat and had been fired out of the Party, he would have refused to have broken that pledge. If they would examine the composition of the Party he thought the advanced section would sympathise with ten or twelve men who sat there. He had been through the names very carefully, and he counted 27 out of 40 who were not Socialists at all and who had never declared themselves in favour of Socialism. There were 13 who called themselves Socialists. They could quite understand that it was an utter impossibility for the 13 who belonged to the Socialist Party to agree with the others, more especially on questions of economics. It would be a very good thing

if it were settled once and for all that every man and every woman who might run in the future as a candidate under the Party should be compelled to run as a Socialist and a Socialist only. He would not water down his principles of Socialism. If the paragraph was passed it would be an utter impossibility to have complete unity in the Party. He would give another reason. So soon as the Government brought forward their next education policy there would be disagreement in the Party. There were a number who had advocated secular education for years and there were others who refused to go on those lines. That being so, was it likely they could agree? He therefore asked the Conference to be sympathetic towards those who were called the rebels in the Party. He had been reported to his organisation and so had Snowden. He saw Snowden shook his head. Well, he wanted to know why he had been reported and Snowden had not.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., interrupting, said that all the men who went to Bow and Bromley were reported to the Executives of their organisations.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. said that was the first time he had heard of it. If he had been reported to the I.L.P., then the I.L.P. had had the good sense to keep it from him.

MR. THORNE said he would have to call upon the I.L.P. to deal with Snowden in due course as his Union would deal with him. If his Union condemned him he would have to suffer the inevitable. Then he would be forced out; he would not receive the "whips," he supposed. But he would not be compelled to resign his seat, or if he was he might fight again and if the constituency did not return him it would return someone else. Then there was friend Walsh in the House of Commons the other night. Would he be pilloried? There were also men in the country who had declared their intention not to carry out the constitution. He hoped the delegates would be a little sympathetic towards the advanced section of the Party and not pillory them simply because they were fighting in a just cause for the emancipation of the workers.

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The debate was interrupted by MR. VERNON HARTSHORN, who reported:

(1) *That an application had been received by the Standing Orders Committee from the Women's Labour League for five minutes to submit a resolution on the Majority Report of the Divorce Commission. Having regard to the facts placed before the Committee they recommend'd that the five minutes be granted at a convenient time.*

(2) *With reference to Daily Herald posters no application for permission to place them in the hall had been made previous to the day before. The Daily Citizen had made application a month ago and it was granted. The Committee thought that no objection should be raised to a display of Daily Herald posters if it was desired.*

(3) Having regard to the very lengthy agenda, the Committee recommended that no speaker should have more than five minutes, except the mover of a resolution who should have seven minutes.

(4) There had also been an application from the Irish Trades Union Congress asking that their representatives should be allowed to place certain matters before the Conference—matters relating to the extension of certain legislative enactments to Ireland such as the feeding of school children, medical benefits under the Insurance Act, and certain amendments to the Home Rule Bill. The Committee recommended that the matters should be referred to the new Executive and that the Conference should request the new Executive to meet the representatives of the Irish Labour Movement and do all they possibly could to assist them.

(5) The linen weavers were on strike at Lurgan in Ireland, and the Committee recommended that when the Conference resumed after lunch the representative of the strikers should be allowed five minutes to state their case.

It was moved and seconded :

That the report be adopted.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dock Labourers) moved, as an amendment :

*That the portion of the report referring to "Daily Herald" posters be referred back.*

He wished to know why any distinction should be made between the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mail*. Who was the *Daily Herald*?

A DELEGATE said that his Union had money in it.

MR. SEXTON said that if any Trade Unions were foolish enough to subsidise a newspaper that was denouncing the Labour Party, then God help the Trade Unions! He wished to know who was behind the paper.

THE CHAIRMAN said Mr. Sexton could move the reference back but he must not discuss the whole question.

MR. SEXTON said he could not refer the matter back without discussing it. He wished to know what right any private venture had to have its posters placed in the hall.

THE CHAIRMAN said he did not think this was the point upon which to raise a discussion as between the *Herald* and the *Citizen*. A motion had been made to refer the matter back and he thought the Conference was equal to determining that point.

MR. SEXTON said he did not think it was fair to disallow discussion but he would accept the Chairman's ruling.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation) asking whether the carrying of the report would amount to an instruction to the new Executive to do everything possible to assist the Irish Trade Unionists in the matter referred to.

THE CHAIRMAN said the Executive were quite agreed that action should be taken on those lines.

The motion to refer back that part of the report referring to the *Daily Herald* was then put and there voted by card :—

For .. ..	643,000
Against .. ..	398,000

The amendment was thereupon declared carried.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL (Belfast Trades Council) moved a further amendment :—

That the portion of the report relating to Irish business be referred back.

He thought the representatives from Ireland should be heard by the Conference, his reason being that their experience when applying to previous Executives had been anything but favourable. He hoped the delegates would see their way to allow fifteen or twenty minutes to hear the disabilities laboured under in Ireland and not leave the Irish Movement to the tender mercies of the Executive.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said he must protest against the statement made that when the Executive had been appealed to fair treatment had not been meted out. It would be very much better if when delegates made such statements they would bring some evidence. He would venture to ask Mr. Campbell whether he had sent any communication to the Executive that had not received attention; whether he had not been brought into touch with the Parliamentary Party whose business it was to care for such things; and whether the Parliamentary Party had not received an Irish deputation and given most careful attention to the case presented. He hoped the Conference would accept the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee.

MR. CAMPBELL said that Mr. Henderson had asked him a definite question. He had nothing to say about Mr. Henderson, but he could produce letters from Mr. Parker acknowledging receipt of resolutions and stating that after seeing the Irish Parliamentary Party he would see what could be done.

The amendment was put and declared lost; and the report as amended was then adopted.

#### PARTY DISCIPLINE.

The debate on Party Discipline was resumed.

MR. S. STRANKS (Croydon L.R.C.) said that as one who belonged to the advanced section of the Movement he would like to say that the matter under discussion was not so much one of difference between the two sections as it was a question of general discipline, and he ventured to say that the Trade Unionists

would have to consider in what direction they were travelling if they did not accept the Executive's recommendation. He failed to see that any evidence had been submitted showing where the advanced section had been restricted regarding their principles or their freedom to express their views either in their constituencies or right throughout the country. Therefore, Mr. Thorne's speech was practically wide of the mark. The Movement had arrived at a stage in its career when it appeared that the very section he belonged to were prepared to throw over the traces. There was no logic in that, and it was up against the position taken up in the first instance. He viewed with a certain amount of alarm the present tendency in the Socialist ranks. The Socialists who had entered the Movement must realise that logic had to come into the deal. They must not say that the Liberal-Labour man was to be restricted and then depart from the logic of that when it suited their purpose. It would be a dangerous course to pursue and might wreck the Movement. There were one or two Labour men who were not honourable in allying themselves with the Movement and who would be pleased if the advanced section continued in the present course to the extent of claiming that the individual man should not be governed entirely by majority rule.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (Independent Labour Party) said he wished to reply to what he regarded as a most mischievous and unwarrantable speech by Mr. Thorne. If they did want to drive the wedge between the two sections and to have a divided Party they could not go to work in a better way than Mr. Thorne had done. He told them that there was great division in the Labour Party between those who were Socialists and those who were not. He (Mr. Anderson) was not a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party, but he had very often attended joint meetings between the Party and the Executive, and he had never seen this tremendous division between the Socialists and Trade Unionists. In matters of theory, Trade Unionists might or might not subscribe, but in the practical work for the lifting up of the conditions of the people there was absolutely no difference. The Labour Movement had been built up on that basis, and if there was not going to be give-and-take, then the sooner they broke up the Labour Party the better. He would like to ask Mr. Thorne this question. What great fight had Mr. Thorne put up for Socialism on the floor of the House of Commons, where the so-called Liberal-end of the Labour Party had tried to keep him back? There had been magnificent fighting Socialist speeches made time and again. Mr. Snowden had made ringing Socialist declarations on Budget after Budget, and Member after Member had done exactly the same thing. This question was a much older and a much bigger one than Mr. Thorne would lead them to suppose. Mr. Thorne thought it had all been brought about by Mr. Lansbury. For years they had had complaints of breaches of the constitution on the part of Labour

Members in Parliament, and from both sides they wanted to bring the whole Movement into line and to have the largest possible amount of unity among the Members of the Labour Party inside and outside the House of Commons. Mr. Thorne was afraid that this was going to act unfairly, and that there would be a caucus riding roughshod over them. What was going to happen? Suppose someone was regarded as having been guilty of a breach. He would be reported to his organisation. If the organisation felt that the man had done a right thing it would not be worth very much if it did not place itself behind that man. There was no question of a caucus. It was a question of the whole Parliamentary Party, of the whole Executive of the Labour Party, and if those whom they elected were going to play the part of tyrants, it was for them as delegates to deal with them. He believed the resolution would make for a more complete and united Party. And in view of the great possibilities ahead, the best work could be done, not by Members getting their own way and doing what they liked, but by a give-and-take policy and discipline and loyalty.

COUNCILLOR J. S. SALT (Leicester Labour Party) supported the recommendation. He was one of those persons who liked liberty; but still there were restrictions even to liberty. Mr. Thorne had been before the country quite long enough, had been a representative of Labour long enough, and had been a propagandist long enough, to know the difference between propaganda and legislative effort. Mr. Thorne or any other member representing the Labour Party on any public body or in any Chamber was expected to act with the majority of the Party. Members must submit to majority rule so far as Party policy went, and he asked the Conference to pass the paragraph and read Mr. Thorne a lesson.

MR. G. W. PORTER (Portsmouth T.C.) said he was very glad that the proposal had been brought before the Conference because for some time there had been an undercurrent of feeling in the Movement against the votes of some of the Labour Members in the House of Commons. Time and again Members had been pilloried in the columns of the *Labour Leader*. The forward movement, he thought, wanted this policy, but to his astonishment Mr. Thorne had opposed the very thing that he and his friends had been asking for. He did not understand Mr. Thorne's position at all. If discipline could not be imposed upon the Members of Parliament, they must expect to have members of local parties breaking the rules and pointing to the Members of Parliament as being as bad.

A DELEGATE asked whether the Party in the House of Commons met to discuss and decide on the questions that arose and how they should vote, and whether there was any restriction upon a Socialist speaking to the point on the floor of the House of Commons, declaring his Socialism if necessary, so long as he voted with the Party.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the Party met week by week—and sometimes two or three times in a week if occasion demanded—to settle matters of policy and action, and it was perfectly competent for every Member to stand his own corner. He himself had stood out many times, and had then bowed to the rule of the majority.

MR. W. H. TAYLOR (London Society of Compositors) said he would have agreed thoroughly with the paragraph had the Party not dropped the pledge the previous year. When freedom was given to all the members of the Party, he could not see where the consistency came in to try and tie them down to a certain policy now.

The paragraph was then adopted.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

The Parliamentary Report was taken paragraph by paragraph.

#### COAL STRIKE.

MR. T. I. MARDY JONES (East Glamorgan Labour Party) asked whether a remark he had heard that when the Minimum Wage Bill was before Parliament the Government had offered to include the 5s. and 2s. amendment if the Labour Party consented, was correct.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that as he understood the situation, certain negotiations were carried on by the Labour Party with the Government on behalf of the Miners. At one point it was understood that the Government were willing to include the two figures mentioned on condition that that would induce the Miners' Executive to recommend the whole-hearted acceptance of the measure to their members. For very good reasons on their part they felt unable to give that undertaking and the negotiations dropped. Later when the Party moved the inclusion of those figures, the Government practically said that it was too late, that they negotiated up to a certain point, and now they were unable to agree to the inclusion.

#### PART OF LONDON STRIKE.

MR. FRED KNEE (London T.C.) asked what authority the Party had for bringing in a Bill on Industrial Agreements, and if it had not occurred to them that they were introducing a fresh danger to the Trade Union Movement by bringing in more lawyers to decide what the conditions of labour should be.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the Party were in constant communication with the accredited representatives of the Transport Workers during their dispute. The point was submitted to the Party and the request made that legislative enactment should be sought because that would solve the difficulty. It was at the request of the representatives of the Transport Workers, presumably with credentials from their separate bodies, that the Party acted as stated in the Report.

MR. KNEE said that to some extent exonerated the Party from blame, but once such a principle was admitted it was likely to spread to the whole of the industrial world.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the Bill drafted and introduced was expressly confined to the situation then existing in the docks, and had no application in the general sense apprehended by Mr. Knee.

MR. KNEE said that if the mischief was stopped there he would not mind. What he feared was that the principle having once been advocated for a particular trade or district, it was likely to spread and be taken advantage of by lawyers and others. That was a danger, and an entirely new departure which should not really have been taken by the Parliamentary Party without the authority of Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN said he appreciated Mr. Knee's point. It was done because of the anxiety of the Party to help the Transport Workers out of their trouble.

MR. E. SPICER (Watermen and Lightermen) said that he and his colleagues were present at their first Labour Party Conference on account of the assistance given to them by the Labour Party during the dispute.

#### TRADE UNIONS BILL.

MR. F. KNEE said he did not want to go over the whole ground because that was covered at the Special Conference, but he would like an explanation of the extraordinary amendment brought forward by Mr. Wardle and seconded by Lord Wolmer, in the House of Commons the previous day.

THE CHAIRMAN thought that was rather beyond the scope of the paragraph, but nevertheless he would respond to Mr. Knee's request. The motion made by Mr. Wardle was one which had secured the endorsement of two Party meetings, after previous consideration by a special committee appointed expressly to deal with the Bill. The fact that a Conservative Lord intervened for the purpose of seconding the motion seemed to him to prove that the exposure of their tactics in Committee, through the columns of the *Daily Citizen*, had had a very salutary effect.

MR. STEPHEN WALSH, M.P. (Miners' Federation) said the statement just made by the Chairman was one that he could hardly let go unchallenged, because if he did so he would be placed under the stigma of accepting as a statement of fact that which at present was only a statement of opinion. He had taken certain action in the House of Commons the previous night to which he would not further refer, but he took that action on what he believed to be a well-grounded belief that the Party as a Party had not decided upon the amendment at all. He would not carry it a bit further except to say that if he did not make that statement now he would rest under the imputation of having allowed a statement to go unchallenged which would have reflected very seriously upon his action.

THE CHAIRMAN said that all he could say was that he had had in his possession the Party Minutes in which it was recorded, and he simply made a statement of fact to the Conference without expressing any opinion on the merits of the case.

The Parliamentary Report was then adopted.

#### GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

##### FRANCHISE REFORM.

MR. H. J. ROLF (East Ham L.R.C.) moved the following composite resolution :—

*That this Conference re-affirms its previous decisions regarding the enfranchisement of women, deplores the position created by the ruling of the Speaker, considers that the pledge of the Prime Minister can only be adequately and safely redeemed by the Government providing facilities during the coming session for a free vote of the House of Commons on a woman's measure, and should it obtain a second reading the Government becoming responsible for it through all its subsequent stages.*

*It calls upon the Parliamentary Party to do all in its power to expedite the passage of a Bill during the coming session giving votes to women on a broad and democratic basis.*

He said the whole of the delegates were pretty well agreed that the women should have the vote and that the Labour Party should use their power to secure that vote. There was an amendment to be moved to the resolution which he was sorry he could not accept.

MR. H. LUDLOW CROFTS (Ilford T.C.), formally seconded the resolution.

MR. H. DUBERY (I.L.P.) moved the following amendment :—

*To add : It further calls upon the Party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included.*

He said the first step was to bring forward in Parliament a Bill for women ; not a Franchise Bill in the ordinary sense because such a Bill was only a Bill for men. The Bill they wanted—and he understood that the resolution demanded it too—was a Bill for women and not for men. That should be the next stage in the franchise work. It could be said that the men up to the present had had an exceedingly good innings with the franchise. If there was any demand at the present time for the extension of the franchise it was the women who had made that demand, and the people who had made the agitation should reap the reward. Whatever else the Movement did, it had got to play the game. The women were looking to it to play the game ; and he appealed to the Conference that it was the duty of the Parliamentary Party to have nothing to do with any Franchise Bill unless it included women. On behalf of the women, the I.L.P. entreated the Conference to do their very best to see that the Parliamentary Party should stand up whole-heartedly for the women and refuse in future to deal with a men's Bill, but make women the first point of all.

MRS. SIMM (Women's Labour League) seconded the amendment, and said that the women in the League felt they needed the vote in order to stand by the men. She asked the men to take no more votes for themselves until they got some for the women.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) said that the Prime Minister had declared that it was impossible for the Government to bring forward a Bill that would include both men and women. That being so, he desired to know what were to be the instructions from the delegates. It was a moral certainty that the Government would be forced to bring forward either a Bill for the enfranchisement of men or one for women. Assuming the Government brought forward a Bill for the extension of the franchise to men and wiping out the idiotic registration laws, and then promised to bring forward a Bill dealing with the enfranchisement of women, the Conference ought to say emphatically what the attitude of the Parliamentary Party should be, and how they should vote. He did not care what the Conference decided, but they should be clear about it.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Society) said that on behalf of his Society which was associated in the promotion of the amendment, he desired to give an answer to Mr. Thorne. The position that the women members of the Fabian Society took was that the question of women's franchise was in a different state now to what it was a year ago. The women, through no fault of the Labour Party, but owing to what he believed was gross mismanagement or ignorance on the part of the people responsible for the business of the House of Commons, had been sold, not consciously perhaps on the part of the people who had sold them, but sold nevertheless ; and it was the business of Parliament or the Government, to make good the promise which had not been kept. There was only one way to do that and that was to say that so serious did they think this conscious or unconscious breaking of the pledge to women they must put that question first and foremost in any matter referring to the alteration of the franchise. The Liberals had refused to do that and the Conservatives would not do it. Both parties were divided. The one party which so far had not deceived the women was the Labour Party. The only party which had kept any respect for politics in the hearts and minds of the women was the Labour Party. If the Labour Party failed the women, no longer could any of the women engaged in politics be expected to believe that their claims were being considered seriously. The women members of the Fabian Society appealed to the Labour Party to keep its record of sincerity and chivalry, and say to the other parties : You are not prepared to keep your word ; we are prepared to go one better than our word. Instead of saying that a Bill without women would not be acceptable, the Party should say that a Bill that did not confer the

franchise on women would be opposed. If the Party did that they would not only revive the dying belief of women in the sincerity of politics, but they would bring to the support of the Party that great new element which he believed would do much to secure for the country what the Labour Party was working for.

MR. STEPHEN WALSH, M.P. (Miners' Federation), said that no delegate could have listened to the speeches that had been delivered without feeling the greatest possible respect for the point of view taken up, but he wanted the Conference to consider for one moment the position of the Members of Parliament who owed allegiance to the Party and who had been sent to Parliament on the pledges they had given to their constituents in accordance with authority derived from the Conference. What was the position? For six years the Conference, year after year, had decided in favour of Adult Suffrage. He placed Adult Suffrage in his programme in 1906 and in every Election Address since. He was prepared to fight as strongly as he could for the inclusion of women on broad and democratic lines and for the inclusion of men also; but his Association and his constituents had also a right to say that they expected him to play the game. He had laid before them certain proposals authorised by Conference, and now he was to be asked to turn his back completely on them and do something entirely different. Inasmuch as he did not wish to be charged with treachery without putting his position openly, the Conference had no right to ask the present Members of Parliament to go back upon pledges given to constituents—pledges which were given in accordance with instructions received from Conference. How could they if they desired a Labour Party to remain in Parliament reverse the authority and the lines of judgment upon which the Members were to proceed? It was not fair to the existing Members. It was perfectly fair that any future Member of Parliament should recognise the mandate from this Conference. He would do all that lay in his power along with his colleagues in the Party to get women the franchise on the broadest possible lines. He had always been an Adult Suffragist, but failing to obtain that he would fight as hard as any man to get women the Parliamentary franchise. But to say that if they did not succeed in so doing they should therefore refuse a Bill that offered manifold advantages in other directions was to ask them to submit to a strain which hitherto they had never had imposed upon them. He sincerely hoped that the Conference would not be unfair to the Members of Parliament but play the game to them as they were expected to play the game to their constituents.

MR. J. A. WATERHOUSE (Railway Workers) supported the amendment. Something ought to be done to extend the franchise to women who had been misled by the Government.

The workers to-day had a chance in nearly every industrial centre of returning men with advanced views to Parliament, but they had not done so. He hoped something would be done to give women the chance because he believed there was more intelligence amongst working-class women than there was amongst working-class men.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. (I.L.P.), said that Mr. Walsh's speech was surely the most extraordinary deliverance ever made to a Labour Conference. His remarks were usually distinguished by being logical, but that quality had entirely deserted him on this occasion. The question "What does Mr. Walsh mean by Adult Suffrage?" was a pertinent one, but the only inference from Mr. Walsh's remarks was that according to him Adult Suffrage meant Manhood Suffrage. More than fifty years ago the House of Lords declared that in all matters affecting the franchise "person" meant "man," and "women" were not "persons" in the eyes of the law. What did this resolution ask Conference to do? It began by asking the Conference to re-affirm its former declarations. What were they? According to Mr. Walsh, for six years Conference had advocated Adult Suffrage, and he (the speaker) thought that he interpreted that aright when he said Adult Suffrage meant men and women. Mr. Walsh asked Conference to accept a measure for the extension of the franchise, or, to be absolutely fair, he at least asked that Labour in the House of Commons should sneak more votes for men at the expense of the agitation that women had carried on. What did Conference declare last year? It declared that no measure for the extension of the franchise would be acceptable to the Labour Party unless it included women. What was the present situation? Up to the previous week the women had been led to believe that if the House of Commons gave a vote in favour of the enfranchisement of women that the enfranchisement of women would become a Government measure, and every Member of the Government was going to be pledged to support the Bill in all its stages. Mr. Asquith stated himself in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon that anti-suffrage members of the Government would be free in all the stages of the private Member's Women's Suffrage Bill, not only to vote against it, but to use their position to the utmost limit. The Government had withdrawn from Mr. Asquith's pledge, and the women were in an infinitely worse position than before. There was no man with five minutes' experience of the House of Commons who believed for a single moment that there was a ghost of a chance of 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 women being enfranchised by a private Member's Bill. Would the delegates have been satisfied when they made a demand for the repeal of the Taff Vale decision, if they had been asked to rely upon a private Member's Bill? This was a question as important in the interests of the community and of the Labour section as any question that could be

## STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

POPLAR L.R.C.

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN reported :—

*The Standing Orders Committee had given very lengthy and careful consideration to the position in Bow and Bromley. The Committee had heard a deputation from the Poplar L.R.C. and also representatives of the National Executive.*

*The Committee were of opinion that the Constitution had been violated and the affiliation of the Poplar L.R.C. ought not to be continued.*

The Committee recommended, however, that as an act of grace the delegates might hear a statement from the representatives of the Poplar L.R.C. should there be a desire to make such a statement.

*The Committee wished to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that at a local conference, organised by the Poplar L.R.C. and held the previous week, it had been decided to run a Candidate for Bow and Bromley, but not under Labour Party auspices.*

*The Committee had endeavoured to consider the matter absolutely without regard to personal considerations and purely and solely from the interests of the Party and the standpoint of the constitution.*

It was moved and seconded :—

That the report be adopted.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dock Labourers) moved as an amendment :—

*That the portion of the report to the effect that the representatives of the Poplar L.R.C. be heard be referred back.*

He said he had never heard such a weak report from a Standing Orders Committee. In the first place they condemned the breach of the constitution and then recommended "as an act of grace" that the representatives be heard. There had been too much "grace." It was a fact that could not be denied that the constitution had been violated. Let the Conference not shilly-shally any more, but let it have discipline.

The amendment was put to a card vote and declared carried :—

For .. . . .	537,000
Against .. . . .	415,000

The report as amended was then adopted, and the Conference adjourned for lunch.

The Conference resumed at 2.0 o'clock.

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY AND THE PARTY.

THE CHAIRMAN said that now that the Conference had decided on the question of the affiliation and representation of the Poplar L.R.C. the paragraphs in the Report under the above heading would be taken.

The adoption of the paragraphs was challenged and on a vote being taken they were declared carried, only 13 voting against.

The adoption of the Report of the Executive, as amended, was then agreed to.

## PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

ORGANISATION.

MR. J. A. SEDDON (Newton Division Labour Party) moved the following :—

*That the Executive of the Labour Party be empowered to draw up and bring into operation a scheme for the engagement of Organisers, who shall devote their time, under the direction of the National Party, to helping to build up or strengthen the local Labour Organisations in as many suitable constituencies as possible, so that whenever it is deemed desirable to contest any constituency with a Labour Candidate, the local organisation, including a strong branch of the Women's Labour League, which is necessary to ensure a fair measure of success will be in existence.*

He said that the resolution called attention to the fact that at many bye-elections, while strenuous efforts had been made, it had to be recorded that owing to the lack of organisation very often the seat had been lost and effort wasted. The resolution was no indictment of the National Organisation, but the people in Newton recognised that the National Agent alone could not do all the work. There were 25 prospective candidates without seats. How long the General Election would be deferred was on the lap of the gods, but they knew that under the Parliament Act it must come within the next two years. It was worse than useless to dump a man down at the eleventh hour before the election. The resolution was that the Executive should draw up a scheme so that the work of the Party should be done systematically and at a period when the electorate was not excited. Then when a man was put up there would be reasonable hope of success.

MR. W. H. AYLES (I.L.P.) seconded and said that the resolution was not to be taken as a reflection on the work of the National Party, but it did mean that the task Mr. Peters had to accomplish was far greater than the task to which he was appointed. The National Agent should have assistants working under him in a regular way and have the organisation of the Party more complete.

MR. J. CROSS (Textile) said the resolution meant increased expenditure for the Party. Up to the present the finances had not been very elastic. He was inclined to think that better results would be obtained by the local people doing the organising work for themselves than by importing an organiser from outside. Mr. Peters had always been willing to do everything required of him and his work had been very successful. He thought those who put candidates in the field should be responsible for the expense and he had to oppose the resolution on behalf of the Textile Workers.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said that the Executive hoped the resolution would be carried. There was a good deal to be said for

raised, and he wanted the Conference to show as much interest in this question as they had shown in other questions. The women had been tricked long enough. In the words of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, "Enough of this fooling! We will have no more of it." "Down with the Government!" Let us say that the whole force of the Labour Movement will be on the side of the women in demanding that the Government shall make this a Government measure. That will be the only way in which to get a solution of this important matter. It was said that it cannot be made a Government measure because the Cabinet is divided. What was the Cabinet? Were they living in a democratic country? Because Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt were opposed to votes for women were their opinions to carry more weight than that of 400 elected representatives in the House of Commons? Conference should say that if the Government and the Cabinet stand in the way of the expression of the will of the House of Commons then the Government and the Cabinet must give way.

MR. TOM PROCTOR (A.S. Engineers) said that the Conference ought to be definite on the point and they could not be definite unless they carried the amendment. The time had come to take a determined stand and to say that unless votes for women was included in a Franchise Bill they would offer determined opposition to it.

The amendment was put and declared carried, the voting being :—

For .. ..	850,000
Against .. ..	437,000

The resolution, as amended, was then put and agreed to.

#### LOCAL ELECTION CONFERENCES, &c.

MR. J. N. MERCER (York Labour Party) moved :—

*That this Conference is of opinion that at all local Election Conferences a card vote should be taken according to the strength of the constituent bodies represented, and not a delegate vote.*

He said he was given to understand that there was no rule governing this matter. His Party took the view that under present circumstances it was possible at local election conferences for representatives of small societies to outvote the representatives of much larger societies.

MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER (Ealing L.R.C.) seconded and said he thought it was highly important that before a candidate was selected it should be known exactly what support he had. It seemed only democratic that a card vote should be taken on such a question in order that the candidate and the constituency might know the exact numerical support accorded to the candidate.

MR. T. I. MARDY JONES (East Glamorgan Labour Party) moved the following amendment :—

Leave out all after "Conferences" and insert: "where two or more nominations are made which are endorsed by the executive committees of the societies of the nominees, a ballot vote be taken of all those members of the societies affiliated to or eligible for affiliation to the local Labour Party (and where no local Labour Party exists) who are resident in the constituency."

His Party felt that if there was to be any alteration at all a card vote should not merely be necessary but where two or more candidates were nominated for endorsement the rank and file of the electors and the Labour Movement in the constituency should have the final voice in the selection of the candidate. That was the most democratic method and one likely to give most satisfaction.

A DELEGATE formally seconded.

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (Gasworkers) said he wished to oppose both the amendment and the resolution. If any such method were in operation in Parliament the votes of the individuals who went into the lobbies would not count, it would be the votes of the constituents that would count. Hundreds of thousands of men in the constituencies knew little or nothing of points that had to be immediately settled by decisions in the House of Commons. Questions had been settled in the Conference about which the constituents of the delegates knew nothing or very little; the different points of argument, for and against, were entirely unknown to them. The proposals before the Conference were proposals to determine the selection of candidates not by the intelligence of an assembled body of delegates but by the votes of thousands of men who knew nothing of the merits of the case and probably nothing whatever of the candidates. A delegate was shorn of his true function if he was sent to a conference and compelled to give, not the weight of his capacity to judge, but the weight of a number of votes which he might happen incidentally to be representing. There were men in the Conference who might represent no more than 50 but whose judgment and opinion and whose knowledge of the merits of a case were quite as good as those of men representing 5,000. For these reasons he opposed the proposals.

On the amendment being put it was declared lost; and on the motion being put it was declared carried :—

For .. ..	181
Against .. ..	69

the position taken up by Mr. Cross. The most valuable work was very often done by enthusiasts on the spot, but he knew constituencies where there were men, especially agricultural labourers, who were totally unorganised industrially, and who had appealed to him as a member of the Executive to send them someone to give help to get them organised on the lines of the Labour Party. Those men knew the Party were anxious to do something for them but they felt isolated, and he was quite sure there was a grand opening if the Executive would send some assistance to them. In carrying the resolution they would not be committed to anything immediately. It simply meant that next year the Executive would bring up a scheme and it would be for the Conference to decide whether that scheme should be accepted, amended, or rejected. He hoped the Executive would be given an opportunity of going into the whole matter. From his experience of the past twelve months at the Head Office he was convinced that it was quite impossible for Mr. Peters to do the work outlined in the resolution. Mr. Peters ought never to be allowed to go upon work that would fasten him up for more than five or six days at a time. Mr. Peters was appointed and had done most excellent work by being able to go on a sudden emergency to take charge of an important bye-election.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) desired to call Mr. Henderson's attention to the fact that the resolution stated that the Executive was not only to draw up a scheme but was to bring it into operation. That was a totally different thing to drawing up a scheme and submitting it to Conference. He was opposed to the idea of constituencies being continually spoon-fed from the Central Office. If the theories advanced by Mr. Henderson were carried into effect an organiser would be needed for every constituency badly organised throughout the country. They were not prepared to face that. The agricultural constituencies where the workers were totally unorganised were absolutely hopeless for years to come. To have a central system of organisers going into divisions totally unorganised would mean enormous expense, greater than the Party could bear, and in consequence would break down. The local organisations needed to be taught to rely more upon their own efforts and less on the efforts of the central Executive. However, if the resolution really meant that the Executive would draw up a scheme without prejudice and submit it to the next Conference, perhaps their opposition might be withdrawn.

MR. SEDDON formally moved :

*That the words "and bring into operation" be deleted.*

This was seconded ; and the resolution, as amended, was then put and agreed to,

#### POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS.

MR. G. IREMONGER (Lambeth L.R.C.) moved the following :

This Conference is of opinion that no Labour Member of Parliament, or official of the Labour Party, shall accept any paid office of any kind whatever from either of the capitalist parties, and any accepting such a position shall be forthwith expelled.

He said that if the principle of the resolution were incorporated in the Constitution it would be well for the Party as a whole. If the two capitalist parties were wings of the same party then they should have nothing to do with them. By no other method could the Labour Party be above suspicion in the matter.

MR. J. CAVANAGH (Builders' Labourers), in seconding, said the Conference ought no longer to tolerate any man getting a job under the Government simply because of the influence he was able to wield over organised labour. This question affected the Party both nationally and locally. There had been men elected to public bodies who had got jobs but who would not have stood the slightest chance of getting them had it not been for the positions they occupied on account of Labour support. There had been a few men in the National Party who had recently taken Government appointments. It was an important question and the Conference ought to express itself in no uncertain way upon it.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dock Labourers) asked whether there was any Member of Parliament holding a Government appointment.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that he could safely say there was not.

MR. SEXTON said that if there was not what was the use of the resolution.

A DELEGATE asked whether the resolution would preclude any Member of the Parliamentary Party from contributing articles to the capitalist press—articles which were fabulously paid for.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that it was not part of his duty to construe the resolution. If it was carried it would be for the Executive to construe it.

MR. A. POTTS (Bolton Labour Party) supported the resolution because he was sure that any man who had any idea of accepting an appointment outside the Labour Party ought certainly to get out of the Party at once.

MR. J. JAGGER (Co-operative Employees) wanted to know whether the Conference was prepared to face the contrary position. Would the supporters of the resolution prefer that the administration of national and local affairs should be in the hands of avowed enemies, or would they prefer that the workers should take a part in it ?

MR. J. BROWN (Steel Smelters) said there seemed to him to be a number of people in the Labour Movement who were never so happy

as when they were casting aspersions on the honour and integrity of elected persons. He was second to none in adherence to public purity. It was all very well to say that if Members of the Parliamentary Party were allowed to accept positions under the Government it would introduce a corrupt influence, but as a matter of fact, how many such appointments had been made from the ranks of the Parliamentary Party? They had been fewer than those made from any other Party. He did not think the Conference would be wise in stating that it had not sufficient confidence in the integrity of its representatives. So long as a man was a delegate on the floor of the Conference he was a jolly good fellow, but immediately he became elected to a higher position there was always a type of individual that raised suspicion about him.

MR. H. TWIST (Miners) asked whether if the resolution were carried the Party would have to expel Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

THE CHAIRMAN repeated that the Executive would have to construe the resolution.

MR. TOM SHAW asked whether a man who accepted a paid office in the sense of the mover of the resolution did not leave the Party. If he did, what was the sense of expelling him after he had left.

MR. T. MALLALIEU (Felt Hatters) asked whether it was competent for the Conference to take a resolution which it was impossible to enforce.

THE CHAIRMAN said he agreed.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said he did not want to see the resolution carried by accident. To carry it would be doing something positively detrimental to the Movement. Some of the delegates seemed to think it only applied to the handful of men in the House of Commons. It also applied to Labour Party officials from one end of the country to the other. If an official of the Party was made a victim of the caprice of his employer because of his activity for his Union or for the Labour Movement, or because of his activities on the town council, and after being victimised he got a public appointment, he might want to keep in with his Union and the local Labour Party and assist in the work. It might be that he would be in a better position to assist the Movement than he had ever been before, being no longer subject to the victimisation of a capricious employer. Had it to go forth that when a man got a position under those circumstances there was no room for him in the Labour Party? That would be the effect of the resolution if carried. He could assure the Conference that there was not much fear of Members of the Parliamentary Party taking these positions. Some people had not given the Members of Parliament all the credit they were entitled to for having steadfastly refused positions and they ought not to be under suspicion. He hoped the Conference would look at the matter in the wider sense and carry the "previous question."

THE CHAIRMAN said that a question put to him seemed to imply that a seat on a Royal Commission carried some salary with it. He was on a Royal Commission himself and it did not bring him anything except increased expenditure on correspondence, &c. He wished it to be clearly understood that his reply was not to be interpreted as giving the idea that anybody on a Royal Commission got any payment beyond travelling expenses: if he was working in London he got nothing.

The resolution was put and declared lost.

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN reported a recommendation from his Committee:—

*That no further new resolutions be taken until the agenda had been exhausted with the exception of a motion on the Taxi-cab Strike.*

A number of resolutions had been submitted to the Committee, but they considered it inadvisable to take any more until the agenda has been disposed of, with the one exception of the motion he had referred to, which it was proposed should be taken the following morning.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

#### GENERAL RESOLUTION.

##### UNEMPLOYMENT.

MR. FRED KNEE (London Trades Council) moved the following:—

*That in the opinion of this Conference, the question of Unemployment is the most important one that can engage the attention of Parliament, and can only be satisfactorily dealt with on the principle of the right to work or maintenance of every citizen. This Conference, therefore, condemns the Government for its failure to redeem the promise made nearly seven years ago to amend the Unemployed Workmen Act, and calls upon the Labour Group in the House of Commons to insist upon precedence being given over every purely political measure to this supreme social question.*

He said the question of Unemployment had yet to be dealt with by the House of Commons. An insurance scheme providing 7s. a week had been started but that was no solution of the problem. Promises to deal with the question had been given by the Government over and over again. One promise was that the Unemployed Workmen Act would be amended and made a really useful and effective measure. That promise had never been carried into effect. He had often criticised the Labour Members, but he would say that if the Government had acceded to the repeated appeals of the Labour Members something would have been done. A period of good trade was the time to get ready for the slump and not wait until the slump came and then get into a sort of panic and leave the problem unsolved and as bad as ever.

MR. JAMES MONK (London Society of Compositors) seconded the resolution.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said the Executive was quite prepared to accept the resolution but there was a point to which he had to call attention. The Executive which was charged with carrying on the work from Conference to Conference met with the Parliamentary Party at the opening of each session, to decide the priority of the different measures. If the Conference at one time said that one thing had to have first place and then that something else had to have first place, it would make it exceedingly difficult to carry on the work. They were prepared to do all that was possible in connection with the question of Unemployment, but if the Conference laid it down that that question was to have precedence over any purely political measure it was taking out of the hands of the Executive the power given to it by the Conference and which it had very carefully exercised when meeting with the Parliamentary Party. On the understanding that the practice was to continue as hitherto the Executive were prepared to accept the resolution.

MR. KNEE said he was prepared to accept Mr. Henderson's statement.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

#### PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

##### CANDIDATURES.

MR. T. I. MARDY JONES (East Glamorgan Labour Party) moved the following composite resolution :—

That this Conference is of the opinion that in order to make the nominations for a Labour Candidate thoroughly democratic, to secure the selection of the nominee most acceptable to those members of affiliated societies who are resident in the constituency, and to remove all financial obstacles to this end, instructs the Executive to draft a scheme to increase the contributions from affiliated societies, to secure that all funds provided by affiliated societies for the purpose of Parliamentary representation shall be centralised under the control of the Executive of the Labour Party ; and to ensure that all Candidates and constituencies approved by the Labour Party shall receive equal financial treatment with regard to election expenses and organisation ; and that the draft scheme be submitted for consideration to the next Annual Conference.

He said that the financial constitution of the Party did not produce the best and most satisfactory results. Before a candidate could be endorsed by the Party and seek election in its name he must be nominated by an affiliated society and that society must guarantee nearly the whole of the election expenses. This gave to large Trade Unions a great "pull" over the smaller ones. Although technically all affiliated societies in a constituency had the right to make nominations for candidates, in practice the small societies did not do so because they knew that the Unions' national executives

would not endorse the nominees and guarantee the election expenses. Therefore it was only the large Union in a given constituency that had any chance of bringing forward a candidate. They were all anxious not only to fight seats but to win them at the least cost and to do that they must remove any cause of grievance in big Unions monopolising the selection of candidates. The only practical way in which this could be done was to ask the Executive to draft a scheme to be submitted to the next Conference proposing increased contributions in order to increase the election fund, and instead of having a series of election funds connected with individual Unions there should be one central fund to meet the bulk of the election expenses of all candidates run under the auspices of the Party. If some such method was adopted it would meet the needs of the smaller organisations. It did not always follow that the big Unions produced the best candidates. The resolution did not bind the Conference but merely instructed the Executive to draft a scheme for consideration.

COUNCILLOR EGERTON P. WAKE (Barrow Labour Party) seconded the resolution. He said that compared with the present practice the proposal was revolutionary, but at the same time it was the only practical way in which the financial side of the Party's organisation could be carried out. When a candidate was nominated by his Union, adopted by a constituency, and then endorsed by the National Party, he ought not to be a sectional candidate, he ought to be the candidate of the Labour Party with the whole resources of the Party behind him. Without a system of centralisation of funds unfair precedence was given to the candidates of wealthy Unions. They had heard about the evil of a spoon-fed constituency. That was the evil that existed at the present time and the only way to abolish it was to centralise the funds in order that every constituency that is considered to be worth fighting will have adequate financial assistance from the Party. The Trade Union candidate who could go before a local conference and say that his wealthy Union was behind him, able to subsidise the organisation and find the election expenses, had a decided advantage over the candidate who might represent a poverty-stricken organisation but who might really, so far as ability was concerned, be much the better candidate.

MR. J. BRUCE GLASIER (I.L.P.) said that if the resolution was carried the chief function of the Labour Party would be to finance I.L.P. candidatures. The I.L.P. had the propagandists, the Trade Unions had the money. From a selfish standpoint his colleagues would be glad to see the resolution carried, but in the interests of the Movement as a whole and to prevent the extinction of the Trade Union candidate he hoped it would be defeated.

The resolution was then put and declared lost.

MESSAGE FROM NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S  
SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

THE CHAIRMAN read the following telegram:

Heartfelt congratulations on fine policy adopted by Conference. Women's faith in Labour Movement justified and hope restored.

*National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.*

CANDIDATURES.

MR. J. WHITTAKER (Wolverhampton T.C.) moved the following :

That, having regard to the withdrawal of Mr. G. H. Stuart, of the Postmen's Federation, from a constituency, after adoption as Labour Candidate in 1910, inquiry be made by the Executive of the Labour Party into his recent withdrawal from York, previous to his name again being placed upon the list of Candidates having the official endorsement.

He said that Wolverhampton at the last General Election had extended an invitation to Mr. Stuart of the Postmen's Federation. It was considered by Mr. Stuart's Executive and they assented to it. He was subsequently adopted as the Candidate and afterwards, at Mr. Stuart's request, a public meeting was arranged. On the very day of the public meeting a telegram was received from Mr. Stuart stating that he withdrew from the position. They were amazed and confounded that he should withdraw on the very day that he had asked for a public meeting to be held. They were more amazed, however, by a private letter he wrote to a member of his Federation in Wolverhampton prior to the announcement of his withdrawal, in which he stated that his withdrawal was because of an interview he had had with a member of the Wolverhampton Liberal Party. They had heard recently that Mr. Stuart was soliciting the favours of York, and they were greatly amazed again to find by press reports that after courting York for a time he had decided not to stand. It was absolutely necessary that before an adopted candidate could withdraw he should consult those to whom he had given the pledge. Mr. Stuart's action in Wolverhampton had placed them in a position from which they had not yet recovered, and they desired that the Executive should consider the matter in the interests of both constituencies.

MR. G. H. STUART (Postmen's Federation) in seconding the resolution, said that when he saw the resolution on the agenda asking for an inquiry into his conduct the first thing he did was to write to the Wolverhampton Trades Council and say that he would be glad to second it. To that letter he received an acknowledgment and nothing else. He had absolutely nothing to hide and if an inquiry was desired he was ready to give evidence. When he had done so it would not be himself on whom the discredit would fall but on some of the people in Wolverhampton. It had been said that he withdrew because of an interview with a member

of the Liberal Party. That was not so. He withdrew because of information he had received from a member of his own Executive —information which the Wolverhampton people ought to have given him and did not. It was perfectly true that someone in Wolverhampton, whom he had never seen before and had not seen since, came to him. He did not know what the man wanted. Mr. Whittaker had raised in a most unfair fashion the question of York. It was quite true that he had been asked to be the candidate there for the second time but it was not true that he ever accepted the invitation. The negotiations went on for some time but in the end his Executive decided against the invitation. He had nothing whatever to be afraid of and therefore he seconded the resolution. It had gone from one end of the country to the other and people had been writing asking the meaning of it. Wolverhampton had nursed the matter for three years. If there was anything to come out let it come out.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said that the Executive very much deprecated the discussion of such a question before Conference. Affiliated organisations with a grievance against a candidate had the fullest opportunity of presenting their case to the Executive. Such a matter could be better decided in the interests of all concerned by an investigation through the Executive rather than by a public discussion on the floor of the Conference. The resolution was a strange one. Judging by the speech of the mover it was the Wolverhampton case that needed inquiring into. The Wolverhampton people had waited for three years, and it was only when they learned that Mr. Stuart had declined an invitation from York that they raised the whole issue afresh and ask for an inquiry, not into the position in Wolverhampton in 1910, but into the position in York in 1912-13. He knew the whole situation with regard to York. He was at both conferences and had been in the closest touch with Mr. Stuart. Mr. Stuart never accepted the invitation but only allowed his name to go to the final vote of the conference. Mr. Stuart was selected, and without any unnecessary delay he consulted his people and intimated that they did not think he ought to contest York again. He claimed for Mr. Stuart that so far as York was concerned nothing could have been more straightforward than his conduct. He hoped it would always be possible for a man who received the invitation of a local organisation to allow his name to go forward to a local conference, to take the whole circumstances into consideration, and if he did not see that it was a favourable opportunity to be able to decline the invitation rather than waste the money of his society. If that option was not allowed societies would decline to allow their men to be nominated. He hoped the whole thing would be swept aside. If the Wolverhampton people did not come to the last Conference or the one before that and ask for an inquiry into their own case it was not for

them to ask for an inquiry into the York case. The York people were quite capable of taking care of themselves; they had not asked for an inquiry, and the resolution ought to be defeated.

MR. J. N. MERCER (York Labour Party) said that in justice to Mr. Stuart he only wanted to say that the York position was exactly as Mr. Henderson had stated. They had every confidence in Mr. Stuart. He had acted quite honourably towards them, and if he had seen his way clear they would only have been too pleased to have him again as candidate.

The "previous question" was formally moved, seconded, and carried.

#### STRIKE OF LURGAN LINEN WORKERS.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL (Belfast Trades Council) was given five minutes in which to raise the question of the strike of linen workers at Lurgan, Ulster. Driven to desperation, he said, after 30 years of bad conditions, the Lurgan factory workers had struck in order to obtain a living wage. Although the cost of living had increased and 10s. or 12s. a week for a man meant slow starvation, the employers had allowed the men to cease work rather than make them a reasonable offer. No change had taken place in the wages for 30 years, and then there was a substantial reduction. The workers wanted their average wage raised from 12s. to 15s. a week. Being very poor they had been unable to accumulate funds to bear a protracted strike, and must surrender very soon if the sympathetic public and the Trade Unions did not come to their rescue immediately. He appealed to the delegates for help.

#### TRADE UNION AGREEMENTS.

MR. H. SKINNER (Typographical Association) moved the following:

That, in the opinion of this Conference, rates of wages, the regulation of hours, and other conditions embodied in agreements of a local, district, or national character, voluntarily entered into between Trade Unions as representing the workers and the representatives of employers in a given industry, should be legally enforceable on all persons employing labour in that industry; and the Executive Committee is hereby instructed to take action accordingly.

He said the resolution was new and he did not want the Conference to reject it merely because it was new. He wanted the Conference to consider it on its merits, and if there was anything in it, to adopt it. The opinion was held by some that agreements come to between organised employers and organised workmen ought to be enforced upon the employers who would not conform to the conditions of that agreement. The Trade Unions were able to exercise a disciplinary influence on their members, but on the contrary the employers could not exercise the same influence on some of their number. If

an agreement was come to no employer should be able to withdraw. The Trades Union Congress had refused to accept the proposal, but in his opinion it was refused because it was something new. There was an impression that the proposal was in the nature of Compulsory Arbitration. It was nothing of the kind. There might be doubts as to the kind of law making agreements enforceable, and it might be feared that any Act of Parliament would re-act in a way disadvantageous to the Trade Unions. Such fear was unjustifiable and showed an absolute want of confidence in the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Parliamentary Party could be relied upon to see that any legislation that was brought forward was not passed unless it was satisfactory to the Trade Unions. Believing that the principle in the resolution was just, believing that the best conditions should be enforceable upon the worst employers, he asked the Conference to pass the resolution.

MR. D. G. LITTLE (Typographical Association) formally seconded.

MR. W. H. QUINN (Bookbinders) supported the resolution. When an endeavour was being made to secure better conditions and the better employers were not unfavourable they very often refused to concede better conditions mainly on the ground that they could not bring the unfair employers into line. Where an agreement was come to between an Employers' Federation and a Trade Union it ought to be made binding on the whole of the trade.

MRS. WEBB (Fabian Society) ventured to ask the Conference not to pass the resolution because it contained two dangerous principles. In the first place, if an agreement was imposed upon the employers, it must be imposed upon the workmen too. If it was enforced in this way it was enforced as a maximum as well as a minimum. The whole principle of factory legislation and of wages boards was that the regulation enforced was a minimum and not a maximum and it was competent for any employer to give more than was laid down by the regulation, and it was also competent for any workmen to strike for more than was laid down. Therefore the weapon of the strike was kept intact as well as having the advantage of legal enactment. The resolution did not follow that principle. It concerned private agreements between employers and employed. As the State had not been called in it could only be enforced as a civil liability by an action for damages. They would then find themselves in the position of the New Zealand workers who were being imprisoned for refusing to obey the Court. The only way of dealing with the question of wages in a quite safe manner so that the weapon of the strike could be kept intact and be always ready for use, was to proceed by the wages boards by which a minimum and not a maximum was laid down. She suggested that the resolution should be rejected.

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (Gasworkers) suggested that the resolution should be withdrawn, because it raised questions which it was too premature to try and settle. They were but in the preliminary stages of considering new issues and new phases of industrial and economic questions. It was best not to commit themselves but to wait until they could see definitely what was meant by seeking to impose upon employers conditions agreed to between Trade Unionists and associated employers. The only objection he could see to the proposal was that it would give to non-Unionists conditions which the Unionists had paid and fought for. Beyond that he could see no objection whatever to the principle. It was already carried out in connection with the Fair Wages Clause in contracts. They had been claiming that public bodies and Parliament should compel contractors to conform to certain Trade Union principles as expressed in the Fair Wages Clause. The resolution had nothing to do with the Right to Strike; it had nothing to do with the question of Compulsory Arbitration; but it did raise questions that without details it would be exceedingly unwise to commit themselves one way or the other. He had had some experience of the investigations of the Industrial Council. Those who thought that the tendency of that Council was to suggest legislation to abolish the strike or to interfere with such industrial freedom as the workers already possessed were totally mistaken. Both the employers' and the workmen's representatives on that council had no idea of that kind. The Conference ought to wait until something definite was put before it prior to pronouncing on such a new principle as that suggested in the resolution.

MR. W. H. AYLES (I.L.P.) said that, speaking for himself, he agreed with Mr. Clynes that it was too early to come to any decision on such a matter. If such agreements meant anything at all it meant that they were entered into with good faith expected from both sides. Employers could in secret conclave decide to wreck an agreement but workmen could not take any such step in secret. If agreements were come to they ought to be honourably observed and if they wished to break them they should give due notice. Mr. Clynes had said that under the proposal the non-Unionist would gain; but he gained now. The Engineers and the Miners of South Wales were working side by side with men who were reaping all the advantages that had been gained for them by Trade Unionists.

THE CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the Typographical Association, said that as many representations had been made that the various organisations were anxious to give further and closer consideration to the principle involved before coming to a decision, they would ask leave to withdraw the resolution on the understanding that it would be competent to raise it at a future Conference.

The resolution was by consent withdrawn.

#### CHARACTER NOTE BILL.

MR. G. FRANCIS (Shop Assistants) moved the following:—

*This Conference instructs the Labour Party to take steps to secure the re-introduction of the Character Note Bill at the earliest possible moment, this being a measure which affects not only Shop Assistants, but also other large bodies of workers, such as Railway Servants, Boot and Shoe Operatives, Clerks, and other Societies affiliated to the Party.*

He said the real meaning of the resolution was to endeavour to render illegal the future operation of what were known as "secret references." In the distributive trades especially, before a man or woman could obtain employment a private note passed between the previous and prospective employers, and many things were and could be said that had nothing to do with the ability of the applicant. An employee ought to be able to take away with him an open note which he could see for himself.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

#### TRUCK.

MR. P. C. HOFFMAN (Shop Assistants) moved the following:—

*This Conference instructs the Labour Party at once to draft an amendment to the Truck Act, making it applicable to Shop Assistants and all those employed in the Distributive Trades; and, further, to take steps for its introduction to Parliament at the earliest possible moment.*

He said the resolution asked the Labour Party to undertake work that the Government ought to have undertaken a long while ago. The Government had appointed a Committee to inquire into the whole subject with special reference to the practice of living-in; the Committee had reported, but the Government had taken no action whatever on the Report. They asked the Labour Party to bring in a Bill to bring shop assistants within the scope of the Truck Laws and so make the living-in system inoperative. Since the resolution had been placed on the agenda they had learned that it was not the Party's business to draft Bills, it was the business of those desiring their promotion, and that would be done.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

#### SHOPS BILL.

MR. HOFFMAN (Shop Assistants) also moved the following:—

*This Conference instructs the Labour Party to draft a new Bill, to be called the Shop Hours Bill, embodying the demand for a 60-hour week, inclusive of meal-times, for Shop Assistants, and all those employed in the Distributive Trades.*

He said that when the last Shops Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill said that the only part he cared about was the part which restricted the hours of work of those employed in shops. When

the Bill reached Committee Stage, Mr. Churchill traitorously withdrew that portion and all they had got was the husk of the original Bill.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

**"PLIMSOLL" MARK.**

MR. MORGAN HOPKINS (Dock, Wharf, &c. Union) moved the following resolution :—

*This Conference instructs the Labour Party to enforce the establishment of the "Plimsoll" Mark, allowing the safety "freeboard" existing prior to the Board of Trade Order, which has added considerably to the dangers of ship working and navigation.*

He said the resolution ought to commend itself to the Conference, knowing that the men who own the ships were out to make money and not to save the lives of those on board.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

**COMPOSITION OF JURIES.**

MR. E. BOTTOMLEY (Oldham T.C.) moved the following :—

*That a fair number of working people be placed upon every Jury, for which service they be paid reasonable remuneration.*

He believed that there should be working-class representation on all juries. They were not allowed to have representation on the Grand Juries. The Grand Jury was the only body that could bring in a true bill against a prisoner. That was most unfair because the members of the Grand Jury were mostly drawn from the capitalist classes. There ought also to be reasonable remuneration.

MR. J. A. SEDDON (Newton Labour Party) seconded and said the question not only affected workmen but also small shopkeepers. The present system was unsatisfactory, but if there could be a panel drawn from all sections of the community there would be a chance of getting something more approximating to justice than was obtained at the present time.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

**EUGENICS.**

MR. A. POTTS (Bolton Labour Party) moved the following :—

*That this Conference expresses its approval of the principles of race improvement underlying the Mental Deficiency Bill, but affirms its belief that no real advance in Eugenic Reform can take place until the evil anomalies of our present capitalistic system are abolished and the principle of equality of opportunity permeates all branches of our national life.*

He said that the object of the resolution was that instead of trying to alleviate or remove the bad conditions of the race by a false method they should get to the root of the question.

MR. CHAS. PRIESTLEY (Manchester and Salford T.C.) seconded and said it was a very serious resolution. It affected the question

of the survival of the fittest. The working-class had no control of the conditions under which they had to exist. The science of biology had shown that we are all equal; that it was only a question of opportunity. It was for the working class to claim the right to have that opportunity.

The "previous question" was moved and seconded, but on being put was declared lost.

The resolution was then put and declared carried.

**STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.**

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN reported on behalf of his Committee that a special resolution which was regarded as very important by the Miners' Federation had been submitted to them. It had been pointed out that there would be no time to discuss it in the Conference, but the Committee had agreed to recommend that he should read it to the Conference and if the report of the Committee was accepted that it should stand as a resolution passed by the Conference.

MR. HARTSHORN then read the following resolution :—

**ILL-TREATMENT OF PIT PONIES.**

*This Conference of the Labour Party enters its emphatic protest against the recommendation of the Nottingham County Magistrates that flogging should be resorted to in cases where pit-pony drivers are found guilty of ill-treatment of underground horses or ponies; we desire to express the feeling of the whole working class movement that while we are anxious to prevent ill-treatment of pit-ponies underground, we do not believe that flogging of lads convicted of this offence is the proper course to adopt; we recognise that in most cases of ill-treatment of ponies the fault does not lie with the lads but with the management of the mines who are responsible for pressing the pony-drivers to do an amount of work which it is sometimes impossible for either the pony or the driver to accomplish.*

*We further express our regret that the Government have only appointed six Inspectors of underground pit-ponies, as in our opinion such a number is absolutely inadequate; and we call upon the Government to reinforce this number at the earliest possible date.*

The report of the Committee, including the Resolution, was put and adopted.

**LICENSING.**

MR. G. HARRISON (Coopers) moved the following :—

*In view of the granting of brewers' and distillers' licenses creating conditions of trade not enjoyed by other industries, this Conference instructs the Parliamentary Party to use its best endeavours to ensure that such licenses be granted only on condition that Trade Union rates and conditions—or where no Trade Union exists, the prevailing rate of pay in the district—are observed in all departments.*

He said that some pressure ought to be put on the brewers and distillers in return for the advantages held by them. There was no industry employed so much unorganised labour as the brewing industry. He hoped the Conference would pass the resolution and help to protect the people employed in the industry.

MR. W. PEACOCK (Coopers), seconding the resolution, said that when those people asked for licenses they should be made to pay a fair and adequate wage to their employees. There was nothing very revolutionary in that proposal. They had been unable to raise wages in London and they now asked the help of the Labour Party to that end.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) said he thought they all sympathised with the purpose in view, but he was afraid it would be rather a difficult job to enforce the resolution. The licensing benches were composed mainly of people opposed to Labour and he did not think it would be possible to get them to impose such a condition. If the men in the industry would only organise themselves he was firmly convinced they would get what was wanted by Trade Union action.

A DELEGATE, supporting the resolution, said that in Liverpool men were working 80 hours a week. Mr. Thorne had asked how the resolution could be worked. It was very simple. If the licensing bench could be instructed as to the building plans of a public-house for which a licence was sought, they could also have instructions to see that proper conditions and pay were given to the employees.

A DELEGATE from the Workers' Union said he wished to support the position taken up by Mr. Thorne. He belonged to a Society that catered for the class covered by the resolution. The whole question centred itself round "organisation." Men could not expect help from others when they absolutely refused to join even an unskilled Society. His Society had scales of benefits and scales of contributions that would admit even the lowest paid individual in the country.

MR. W. HOLMES (I.L.P.) suggested that one remedy was that they should not buy beer unless it was made under good conditions.

The resolution was then put and declared carried.

#### CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT ON RAILWAYS. GOVERNMENT INQUIRY.

MR. W. STOTT (Railway Clerks' Association), moved the following :—

*That in view of the inadequacy of the information at present supplied to Parliament in regard to the actual conditions of employment on the various railways of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the public necessity for up-to-date statistics upon this subject, this Conference instructs the Party*

*in Parliament to press the Government to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons to institute a thorough Inquiry, and to report as early as possible upon the rates of pay, hours of labour, and all other conditions of employment of all grades of employees in the railway service; also to ascertain the amount of additional revenue received by railway companies as the result of increased charges to the public, and the amount of expenses saved by reductions in train service and other facilities during the past five years; further, to gather precise information as to the proportion of such increased receipts and decreased expenses that has been allocated to improvement of staff conditions, as compared with the proportion absorbed in dividends.*

He said that the conditions and wages of the railway servants ought to be accurately known and then it would be seen whether an increase in the rates was necessary.

MR. J. E. WILLIAMS (Railway Servants), seconding, said that the matter was partially dealt with in the Railway Accounts Bill, but not to the extent desired and he hoped the Party would pursue their efforts in the direction indicated.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

#### TRADE UNION STAMP.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Boat and Shoe Operatives) moved the following :—

*That this Conference of the Labour Party strongly recommends all Trade Unionists to wear only those boots and shoes which bear upon them the Trade Union stamp, it being a guarantee that boots and shoes so stamped have been produced by Trade Union labour, and that sweating has been entirely eliminated from their production. Further, this Conference feels that it is the bounden duty of all who believe in good wages and fair conditions for themselves to help others as far as possible to obtain the same conditions; and, therefore, agrees to bring to the notice of their friends the advisability of only purchasing boots and shoes bearing the Trade Union stamp.*

MR. T. MALLALIEU (Felt Hatters), seconded.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said there would be nobody who was not in sympathy with the object of the resolution, but he was rather surprised that the mover and seconder who belonged to the committee of another national organisation should have brought forward such a resolution. There was a clear understanding that the Parliamentary Committee and the General Federation should deal with Trade Union work and the Labour Party should attend to the political work. If care was not taken such resolutions would increase and the time of the Annual Conference taken up in duplicating the work of the Trades Union Congress and the Council of the General Federation. He wished the delegates to keep that aspect before them.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

## DIVORCE COMMISSION.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League), moved the following special resolution :—

*That this Conference heartily welcomes the appearance of the Majority Report of the Divorce Commission and demands early legislation for remedying the evils which the evidence has proved to exist.*

She said the reason why the resolution was submitted as a special one was because the Report of the Commission was published after the date for sending in resolutions to be placed on the agenda. All the evidence in the Report given by working-class people was directly in favour of the conclusions to which the majority of the Commission came. Those conclusions were very commonsense conclusions, and they wanted the Conference to help to strengthen the hands of those working women's organisations—especially the Women's Labour League and the Wonen's Co-operative Guild, who were fighting the battle—by giving a unanimous vote in favour of the Majority Report and so denying the statement made by High Church dignitaries that the working-class did not desire the reforms set forth in the Majority Report.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

## THE BALKAN MOVEMENT.

THE CHAIRMAN said that letters had been received from the Bulgarian and Servian Socialist Parties ; and he read a letter that had also been received from the International Socialist Bureau. The latter was as follows :

TO THE SECRETARIES OF THE AFFILIATED PARTIES.

DEAR COMRADES,

The accompanying letters from Comrades Laptchevitsch and Sakasoff prove the distress to which the war has reduced the Socialist Parties of Servia and Bulgaria. Our lists are decimated, our groups are disorganised, our works are ruined, our coffers are empty.

There is therefore an imperative necessity to repair the disaster and to enable our comrades to reorganise the party and the Trades Unions as well as to take up and intensify the propaganda. This duty is all the more necessary and urgent as the war might be able to reinforce Chauvinism for a certain time.

In order to make a success of this work, our friends should be able to dispose of material means which it is impossible to procure at home—at the present time.

Therefore, we appeal in their favour, to the solidarity of the Parties of the International.

We hope that this appeal will be heard all the more in that our Servian comrades undertake to repay the money which

would be lent as soon as they shall have surmounted the difficulties in the midst of which they are struggling at present.

The secretariat of the I.S.B. will willingly centralise the funds which will be sent and will transinit them to the Servian and Bulgarian Parties.

Fraternally,  
The Secretary of the I.S.B.,  
CAMILLE HUYSMANS.

THE CHAIRMAN, continuing, said that the Executive had considered the appeals, and on their behalf he had to submit the following resolution :—

*This Conference expresses its sympathy with the Bulgarian and Servian Trade Unionists and Socialists in the hardships they are enduring as a result of the recent war, sends its good wishes for the speedy upbuilding of the respective movements, and empowers the Executive Committee to forward two grants of £100 each to their funds, and to issue an appeal to all the affiliated Societies to assist our fellow workers in the Balkans in their difficult task.*

He moved the resolution with the assurance that the spirit of international solidarity animated the Party and that the resolution would be approved.

The resolution was formally seconded.

MR. W. H. AYLES (I.L.P.) said he thought the figures £100 should be altered to £200. For the British Labour Party to send such a small sum to relieve the dire distress prevailing was beneath its dignity.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., explained that the Executive did not want the sum mentioned in the resolution to be all that went from this country. It had been given as a lead to the Trade Unions, and if the Trade Unions followed that lead probably a handsome sum would be sent.

MR. A. SHORT (Sheffield T.C.) said the matter had come before the General Federation and it had been decided to issue an appeal to the affiliated Societies. He noticed the resolution stated that the Labour Party would issue an appeal. He thought that instead of there being three appeals from the national organisations in support of international comrades there should be one united appeal. He therefore suggested that the Executive should get into communication at once with the General Federation and the Parliamentary Committee and try to get a united appeal and see that the response to the appeal did not let the Movement down as had been the case on former occasions.

MR. A. HENDERSON said there was no reason why the matter should not go before the Joint Board and the suggestion would be accepted.

The resolution was put and agreed to ; and the Conference then adjourned for the day.

## FRIDAY'S SITTING.

The Conference resumed at 9.30 a.m.

### EIGHT HOURS' DAY.

MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER (Ealing, Acton and Chiswick L.R.C.) moved the following :

*This Conference calls upon the Labour Party to press for the adoption of an Eight-Hour Day for all railway workers engaged in the manipulation of rolling stock.*

He said the resolution deserved the unanimous support of the Conference. The Party had always taken into consideration the fact that railway workers were particularly entitled to a reduction in their hours of service.

MR. J. T. WHITE (Ilkeston Division Labour Party) seconded the resolution, and said that during recent years the railway companies had speeded up the work of railway men perhaps more than had been done in most other industries. Railwaymen were doing almost twice the amount of work they were doing even five years ago. Railwaymen ought to have an eight-hours' day because it was unsafe for the travelling public to place their lives in the hands of men who were exhausted through the speeding up that had taken place.

MR. FRED KNEE (London Trades Council) said he did not propose to offer any opposition to the resolutions standing under the heading of an Eight-Hours' Day, but it was rather remarkable that they should be asking for an eight-hours' day for railway workers, cotton workers, and workers in other industries where work was continuous throughout week-ends, while other trades were not brought in. As a humble worker in the printing trade he would inform the Parliamentary Party that his own trade wanted an eight-hours' day, and there were many other trades as well. He hoped the Parliamentary Party would exercise their usual wise discretion about the resolutions and would interpret them in the sense of endeavouring to get an eight-hours' day for all trades and industries.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

MR. THOMAS MCKENNA (Blastfurnacemen) moved the following :

*That in the opinion of this Conference the question of an Eight-Hours' shift for all industries where the process is continuous through week-ends is one of extreme urgency, and should take precedence in Labour legislation.*

He said that their plea for putting forward this resolution was that it was a matter of greater urgency to blastfurnacemen and others working in continuous industries—industries which went on over the week-end, night and day for 365 days in the year. In organised areas the blastfurnacemen had secured the eight-hours' day but in other areas they were still working the old brutal twelve-hours' shifts, and on Sundays, instead of having a rest, were working the full twenty-four hours.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) seconding, said it seemed to him that the workers were getting too sectionalised. He understood that when resolutions had been passed at the Trades Congress there was no need to bring them before the Labour Party Conference. If that had not been his impression there would have been a resolution for a General Eight-Hour Day. There was no work in this or any other country more arduous than that of a blastfurnaceman, and when they changed from day to night shift, or vice-versa, they had to work twenty-four hours right through. The men became physically exhausted, and did not recover for three or four days. Although this was urgent, the reduction of hours for all workers was also urgent.

The resolution was agreed to.

MR. W. MARSLAND (Textile Workers) moved the following :

*That this Conference agrees with the principle of an Eight-Hours' Day, and urges the Labour Party in Parliament to support the Textile Workers in reducing the working hours in the Cotton Trade by supporting the Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P.*

He said the working hours in the cotton trade at present were 55½ per week, and the Bill proposed gradually to reduce those hours by 2½ hours every twelvemonth until 48 hours was reached. They also desired to knock off work on Saturdays and work five days a week only. All existing legislation affecting the hours of labour in the cotton trade applied only to women and children, but the Bill referred to would apply to men also. He trusted the Party would push the Bill forward.

MR. A. H. GILL, M.P. (Textile Workers), seconded, and the resolution was agreed to.

### FACTORY LEGISLATION.

MR. W. ROSS (Paper Mill Workers) moved the following resolution :

*That this Conference hereby reaffirms the urgent need for the amendment of the Factory and Workshops Acts by the prohibition of any working in paper, cotton, worsted, woollen, flax and hemp factories, also in bleaching and dyeing works, between the hours of noon on Saturdays and six o'clock on Monday mornings, except to do repairs to machinery, and instructs the Labour Party to urge upon the Government to introduce without delay a Bill dealing with the matter, or to give special facilities for the passing of the amending Bill in charge of Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P. for West Bradford.*

COUNCILLOR BEN TURNER (Weavers) seconded, and expressed the hope that before long they would ask that work should commence not at 6 o'clock on Mondays but at breakfast-time, which was quite soon enough after Sunday rest.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

MR. J. W. OGDEN (Textile Workers) moved the following :—

*That this Conference condemns the system of fines and deductions in the textile and other industries, and urges the Labour Party in the House of Commons to support legislation in favour of their legal prohibition by supporting in every possible way the passage of the Abolition of Fines Bill, introduced by Mr. A. Smith, M.P., through the Houses of Parliament.*

He said they wanted the Labour Party to keep their eye on any legislation proposed by the Government. They did not want any tinkering with the system of fines ; nothing but total abolition would be satisfactory.

The resolution was formally seconded, put, and agreed to.

#### ELECTORAL PRACTICE.

MR. T. RUSSELL WILLIAMS (Darlington T.C.) moved the following :—

That it be an instruction from this Conference that a Labour Candidate shall not accept the support or patronage of politicians who are not members of the Labour Party ; nor give any support or patronage to any candidate or organisation that is opposed to the Labour Party.

He said that it was not intended to make an opportunity for an attempt to impeach the Labour Party in Parliament or Labour Candidates in the country, and he hoped there would not be any advantage taken of the discussion to wash any dirty linen in public. A great many of them who had remained loyal to the Labour Party had always claimed that mistakes had been made, but they were usually the mistakes of men in earnest. They wanted this resolution carried so that they might put an end to the possibility of similar mistakes in the future. He wanted to ask the miners' representatives if they thought they were going to get value for their money at the election in every constituency they were going to fight. One of the reasons for that resolution was something that had happened, and was likely, if they did not pass the resolution, to appear again in South Glamorgan and Mid-Glamorgan. Sir Alfred Mond, Liberal Member for Swansea, would go down to South Glamorgan and support the Labour Candidate there, and then go to Mid-Glamorgan and oppose the Labour Candidate there, making invidious distinctions between the two men, both of whom were carrying the Labour banner. If that was going to continue, then their Labour ship would be absolutely wrecked in the shifting sands of expediency. There were prominent Liberals in Darlington who would go over to the Barnard Castle Division and support the Labour Candidate there. They would cross the valley to Bishop Auckland and make trenchant speeches in

condemnation of the Labour Candidate there. He did not hold the Labour Candidate in Barnard Castle responsible for anything of that kind. It was something that had arisen out of the muddle of politics that preceded the institution of the Labour Party in the country. He hoped the Conference would be able to see that independence could not be retained on those lines. The men who could reconcile such a policy with the policy of an independent Labour Party were beyond his comprehension altogether.

MR. H. LUDLOW CROFTS (Ilford T.C.) seconded.

MR. E. H. JARVIS (Amalgamated Carpenters) moved the following amendment :—

Delete all after the word "members" and substitute "of Labour and Socialist Parties."

It was absolutely desirable that the Party should retain a measure of independence and have no alliance or compact with either of the capitalist parties, but look forward to the future with greater confidence in its own strength. He hoped the Conference would pass the amendment and say to the working classes of the country that they were determined to work out their own emancipation without the assistance of any other parties.

MR. A. GOULD (Amalgamated Carpenters) seconded, and said the resolution was too restricted in form because there were members of Socialist parties who were not members of the Labour Party and it would cut away support for those men.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) opposed both resolution and amendment. He was in agreement with the first part of the resolution but not with the second. Were they there to get support from everyone they could or were they not ? Was it not their policy to change opposition to support ? If anyone dared to come on a Labour platform were they going to say, "We cannot have you because you are not a member of the Party ?" If they did, they would remain exactly where they were for ever and ever. With regard to the amendment, a party might call itself a Socialist party and yet be utterly opposed to the policy of the Labour Party, which was the only party in the country representing the workers politically. Labour was a term as high and as holy in the truest sense as socialism ever was. There was no magic about the word Socialism. Sometimes there was a lot of cant about it. The Labour Party was a voluntary association composed of Trade Unionists and Socialists, and what they ought to deprecate was any intention to split it into sections and to label their men with different tickets.

The "previous question" was then moved and seconded, and on being put was declared carried.

### ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE.

MR. DAVID GILMOUR, on behalf of the Scrutineers, reported on the voting for the new Executive. He said that apparently there had been a slight misunderstanding, it not being known that Mr. J. Twomey had withdrawn his candidature, and some votes cast for him had therefore not been counted.

### TRADE UNION SECTION.

#### ELECTED.

J. R. Clynes, M.P. ( <i>Gasworkers</i> ) ..	1,460
W. C. Robinson ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	1,429
G. H. Roberts, M.P. ( <i>Typo. Assoc.</i> ) ..	1,370
Ben Turner ( <i>Weavers</i> ) ..	1,313
H. Orbell ( <i>Dock, Wharf, &amp;c.</i> ) ..	1,071
J. Williams, M.P. ( <i>Miners</i> ) ..	1,071
G. J. Wardle, M.P. ( <i>Railwaymen</i> ) ..	990
J. J. Stephenson ( <i>A.S. Engineers</i> ) ..	950
A. G. Cameron ( <i>Amal. Carpenters</i> ) ..	942
John Hodge, M.P. ( <i>Steel Smelters</i> ) ..	858
W. F. Purdy ( <i>Shipwrights</i> ) ..	788

#### NOT ELECTED.

Patrick Walls ( <i>Blastfurnacemen</i> ) ..	567
J. Anderson ( <i>Stevedores</i> ) ..	500
R. J. Wilson ( <i>Co-op. Employees</i> ) ..	447
J. Lamb ( <i>Wheelwrights</i> ) ..	361
R. Morley ( <i>Workers' Union</i> ) ..	321
T. Lowth ( <i>Railway Workers</i> ) ..	251
T. Williamson ( <i>N.A.U. Labour</i> ) ..	191
A. G. Walkden ( <i>Railway Clerks</i> ) ..	189
D. Jones ( <i>Prudential Agents</i> ) ..	83

### TRADES COUNCIL AND LOCAL LABOUR PARTY SECTION.

#### ELECTED.

Tom Fox ( <i>Manchester and Salford</i> ) ..	24
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#### NOT ELECTED.

Egerton P. Wake ( <i>Barrow</i> ) ..	21
J. H. Palin ( <i>Bradford</i> ) ..	13
T. Mardy Jones ( <i>Rhondda</i> ) ..	7
W. R. Smith ( <i>Norwich</i> ) ..	5

### SOCIALIST SECTION.

There being only three nominations the following were declared elected :—

W. C. Anderson ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) ..	
J. Keir Hardie, M.P. ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) ..	
Edward R. Pease ( <i>Fabian Society</i> ) ..	

### TREASURER.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was elected without opposition.

### SECRETARY.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was elected without opposition.

A DELEGATE asked whether there would be a second ballot for the representative of the Trades Council and Local Labour Party section.

THE CHAIRMAN said that would be out of order. It was not the practice, and if an alteration was desired a motion must be sent in at the proper time.

### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. VERNON HARTSHORN, on behalf of the Standing Orders Committee, reported :—

(1) *A resolution and amendment under the heading of Trade Union Consolidation covered a matter for the Trades Union Congress and not for the Labour Party Conference, and therefore should be removed from the agenda.*

(2) *An amendment in the name of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners to a resolution under the heading of Electoral Reform was out of order.*

(3) *For the remainder of the time movers of motions should be allowed five minutes and other speakers three minutes.*

The Committee's report was adopted.

### PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

#### ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

MR. E. BOTTOMLEY (Oldham T.C.) moved the following composite resolution :—

*That in view of the time wasted on the first day of each Conference in electing Standing Orders Committees and Tellers, this Conference instructs the Executive to submit to the next Annual Conference a scheme for the appointment of the officials named.*

He said that a good deal of time was wasted on the first day which was the most important of the Conference, with the result that on the last day business had to be rushed through.

MR. J. BELL (Textile Workers) seconded ; and the resolution was agreed to.

MR. J. BELL (Textile Workers) moved the following composite resolution :—

*That in future no fraternal delegates from organisations in the United Kingdom be permitted to address the Annual Conference of this Party.*

The desire was to save the time of the Conference. The fraternal greetings were treated more as a matter of form, and the Conference ought to get to business and have more time to discuss the resolutions.

A DELEGATE formally seconded.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said the argument used for the resolution was that the fraternal greetings were a waste of time. Had there been any waste of time in the presentation of the fraternal greetings at this Conference ? The whole business did not occupy much more than five minutes, and surely that time could be allowed to organisations, especially the organisation from which the Party had sprung, the Mother Congress in this country, to send a few words of fraternal greeting. He hoped the Conference would continue to find the time and that the resolution would not be accepted.

The " previous question " was moved and seconded, and on being put was declared carried, the voting being as follows :—

For .. .. .. ..	160
Against .. .. .. ..	149

MR. T. MCKERRELL (Miners) moved the following :—

*That the Labour Party Conference direct its attention more to urgent political questions, with a view to having adequate discussion thereon, and allow the Trades Union Congress to deal with industrial questions and all other matters affecting the Trade Unions not of a political nature.*

He thought that very little argument would be required to carry the motion. Experience proved that there was far too much duplication of work and all those resolutions that had been passed at the Trades Union Congress should not appear on the agenda for the Labour Party Conference. He knew there were people who said that it was very difficult to define what were political and what were industrial questions, but he thought all those questions which applied only to a particular Union ought to be discussed at the Trades Union Congress, and all these industrial questions for which political legislation was demanded that affected the whole body of the workers ought to be discussed at the Labour Party Conference. The proper function of the Labour Party Conference was to educate public opinion on great political questions and the first day of the Conference had been wasted in discussing trifling matters which would have no effect on the public outside. There were important resolutions on the agenda, one being concerned with a minimum wage of 30s. That was one of the things on which hours should be spent giving reasons to the public outside why it should be established.

MR. H. TWIST (Miners) seconded, and hoped the Conference would help the Executive to carry the idea out. Unions should not send resolutions of a trifling character simply for the sake of talking. The agenda could be boiled down, and it would be doing a signal service to the Labour Movement if the next Conference did actually discuss urgent political questions. The Party lost and did not gain amongst the rank and file if it spent a day-and-a-half squabbling over family affairs and revealing to the country that there were more political parties than one or two engaged in internal dissensions. Let them turn their attention, as they did in 1906, to questions that interested the average man. The Conference did good work at that time because it concentrated on the Taff Vale decision and an amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Those two questions touched the workers where they were crippled in their liberty and affected in their livelihood. When they devoted the political machinery to redressing the immediate pressing needs and wrongs of the workers they would have the workers behind them.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Society) said that with the spirit of the resolution he was certain all the delegates were in sympathy, but the trouble about the resolution was its vagueness. He agreed with the mover that if three days could be devoted to threshing out the questions of paramount importance

to the Labour Movement the Conference would be worth ten times more in a propagandist and educative sense not only to the public but to the Party itself. But that was not the proposal, and if, instead of having platitudes, the Executive were asked to try and devise some way of finding out beforehand what was considered to be the three most important questions to which the Conference should devote the bulk of its time, that would be the only practical way of carrying into effect the desire of the mover. He could not see his way to support the rather vague declaration as it did not seem to him to lead anywhere.

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (Gasworkers) said he shared very much the view just expressed by Mr. Sanders, but he regretted the conclusion to which Mr. Sanders had come. The resolution could be passed without doing any harm ; it could be passed without doing much good. There was need for a decision on the lines of the resolution as was well shown by the agenda. On one page there were great questions like the matter of an Imperial Conference and War—international issues of the greatest importance to the future of Labour—and on the next page the agenda descended to the smaller trade subjects such as the Shops' Bill, the Character Note Bill, and so on. Important as those matters were to those whom they affected, they were not in their right place as business questions for a Conference. He regretted that the Miners had not been more definite in their purpose. No Executive action which could be effective and which would be duly authorised could be taken on the strength of the resolution. It was a mere inconsequential pious opinion leaving to the Congress to decide what it should do. The Congress would ask them to mind their own business unless there was some definite authority to approach that body to try to arrange and properly apportion the character of the questions that each of the two bodies should deal with. He saw no harm in passing the resolution, but he would like to see it followed up by an instruction to the Executive to approach the Parliamentary Committee in order that a friendly and rational arrangement might be come to.

MR. P. DALEY (Kew Gardens Employees) asked if the resolution was carried what would happen to the small societies that could not be represented at the Trades Union Congress. It would be impossible for them to send resolutions to the Labour Party Conference in future.

MR. JAS. O'GRADY, M.P. (Furnishing Trades) said he hoped the Conference would pause before carrying the resolution. Many had thought that such a thing was desirable but on close examination the resolution was hopelessly impracticable. How could they differentiate between industrial and political questions ? Take the Minimum Wage. Was that an industrial or a political question ? It was both : and so they could go right through the whole gamut of the political and industrial programmes of Trade Unions

and political parties. There ought to be a friendly arrangement between the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party to meet two or three times during the year and prepare their respective agendas. If the resolution were carried it would, he thought, cripple to a very large extent the activities of the political movement.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said he thought the delegates ought to keep in mind that what had been suggested by Mr. O'Grady and other speakers had already been tried. He did not know how many meetings he had attended with the Parliamentary Committee having as their object the coming to an arrangement to avoid discussing the same questions at the Congress and the Conference. But what did they find? They found that the Parliamentary Committee were not disposed to give up discussing important political questions at the Congress and the dividing line could not be reached. When it was found that nothing could be done in that way to prevent overlapping the Labour Party came to the conclusion that the best thing to try to do was to urge some scheme of closer unity, of fusion between the forces, and the Executive had been backed up year after year by Conference in favour of such a scheme. To their amazement, however, at the last Trades Union Congress on the motion of the Miners the scheme that was before Congress in favour of fusion was defeated. A similar motion was carried, notwithstanding their protest, as Mr. O'Grady knew, at the Annual Council Meeting of the General Federation, and in the Executive's Report, accepted by the present Conference, there was an expression of regret that after all the time given to it and the efforts made to bring the three bodies into closer union with the object of preventing this overlapping, two of the National Conferences had rejected the entire scheme. The resolution would not assist the matter. The only way it could be properly dealt with was to bring pressure and get the Trades Union Congress especially to carry a resolution in favour of closer unity. If that was done they might get a scheme whereby the two Conferences could be held at the same time and the agenda divided and in that way prevent all the waste of time referred to.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) hoped the resolution would be carried. His Union had decided that in consequence of the eight-hour resolution having been carried at the Congress times out of number, there was no need to bring it to the Labour Party Conference. It would be the duty of his Union to press that resolution at Congress after Congress until it became an Act of Parliament, and after that if any alteration in the law was wanted then it would be for the Labour Party Conference to deal with it. If such a practice were adopted it would relieve the agenda at the Labour Party Conference and the other Congresses.

The resolution was then put and declared carried.

#### ELECTION OF AUDITORS.

The nominations and voting for Auditors was as follows :—

##### ELECTED.

Ald. Wm. House ( <i>Miners</i> ) .. ..	218
W. Schofield ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) .. ..	140

##### NOT ELECTED.

H. H. Elvin ( <i>Clerks</i> ) .. ..	96
T. Proctor ( <i>Engineers</i> ) .. ..	42
T. Cripwell ( <i>Wheelwrights</i> ) .. ..	11

#### PLACE OF NEXT CONFERENCE.

THE CHAIRMAN said that on behalf of the Executive he had to move :

*That the next Conference be held in Glasgow.*

The present Conference ought to have been held there, but owing to Parliamentary exigencies it had to be transferred to London. Halls in Glasgow were already hired and the understanding was that they were available for next year. If they were not taken the Executive would be subject to a forfeit.

The motion was formally seconded, and agreed to.

#### GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

##### NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.

MR. R. BLUNDELL (Dock, Wharf, &c.) moved the following composite resolution :

*That Part I of the Insurance Act be repealed and re-established on a non-contributory basis.*

He admitted that the resolution was a pretty stiff proposition, but seeing that they had now some experience of the working of the Act, they were beginning to realise that under the present system serious disabilities were imposed on some sections of workmen. To some extent the Act was already non-contributory but it was from the employers' point of view, for employers were demanding from casual workers and low-paid home-workers that before they could be employed they should have in their possession a fully-stamped card for the week. The Insurance Commissioners had given an assurance that if any man had a difficulty in getting his card stamped they would take active measures, but the consequence was that the employer was prepared to victimise any man who asked for the assistance of a District Inspector to get his card stamped. There being so many disabilities under the Act the Conference ought to pass the resolution unanimously.

M. J. A. WATERHOUSE (Railway Workers) seconded.

A. DELEGATE asked for an expression of opinion from the Parliamentary Party as to the evil of a man being unable to get work because of his card being unstamped.

THE CHAIRMAN said the matter was before the Parliamentary Party and representations were being made with a view to some redress.

MRS. SIDNEY WEBB (Fabian Society) moved the following amendment:

Line 1: "Delete all after the word 'be' and insert"—

amended so as to

- (1) Exclude all societies connected with profit-making concerns; dissolve such as exist, and enable their members to join Trade Unions or Friendly Societies; and organise into County Societies any persons who remain outside;
- (2) Organise the Deposit Contributors into the same County Societies;
- (3) Relieve from direct personal contribution those earning a pound a week or less and persons out of work;
- (4) Extend this relief to casual labourers, the employers paying direct to the Government according to employment given;
- (5) Give a Government guarantee for the benefits that the Government compels the societies to promise and the workmen to pay for; and
- (6) Extend the medical benefit to the wives and children of the insured."

She did not move this amendment because the Fabian Society was in favour of the contributory principle. The Fabian Society while there was yet time opposed the contributory principle but the tide was too strong against them. The Liberal Government had introduced the contributory principle, the Conservatives had accepted it, and the Labour Party had accepted it as a dark horse which would bolt into the stable of the Trade Unions. The Fabian Society feared it would bolt into the stable of the Insurance Companies. It was futile to ask for the repeal of the Act at the present time so they proposed amendments which would remedy some of the omissions and drawbacks of the Act. There was £25,000,000 for sickness but none of it went in medical benefits to wives and children. The second amendment was to remedy the great injustice with regard to casual labour. Casual labourers were forced to stamp their cards themselves before they could get employment. The amendment proposed that all employers of casual labour should pay in respect of every labourer direct to the Commissioners and that every casual labourer should have his card stamped automatically. They also proposed that all those who were out of work or receiving less than £1 a week should be exempt from contribution. They also proposed the expulsion of the approved insurance societies. It was a difficult job but it must be done sooner or later. She had been told that ten years hence there would be no approved Friendly Societies but that the insurance societies would have attracted all the new members into their net. She therefore asked the Conference not to pass an academic resolution for the repeal of the Act and recommend it in another form, but press for these practical amendments which would build a strong foundation on which could be got a complete national scheme for protection against sickness.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Socie seconded, not because he objected to principle of the resolution—he was opponent of the contributory principle altogether—but it would be a waste of time to try and get the Act re-established in this way the resolution requested. The grievances under the Act and the danger of the insurance companies made it quite possible he thought, for the Labour Party to win amendments out of the Liberal Government. As practical people they wanted the amendments as early as possible and he urged the Conference not to accept the resolution but to vote unanimously for the amendment.

MR. J. T. WATKINS (Gasworkers), speaking as one who had had experience of insurance work, declared that workers had been practically forced by employers to join the approved sections of insurance offices. He knew the case of a man over 65, who was of course excluded from medical benefit, and yet he had been drawn into insuring by one of the companies. A few months ago he (the speaker) was sent to Liverpool, where coercion by unscrupulous employers had taken place to the danger of a Trade Union, and now in the administration of the Act the companies were just as bad.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (I.L.P.) asked whether the Conference would be compelled to take what had been proposed as a motion and an amendment. If so, it would be a very false move. He wanted to vote for both the motion and the amendment, but if they were to be in antithesis he would be compelled to vote for one and against the other, which would put him in a very false position. He wished to give a direct vote against the contributory basis upon which the Act was founded and he did not want to vote against the proposed amendment. If the two things were combined the Conference would be able to give a direct vote.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the parties responsible for the resolutions on the Insurance Act had been in consultation with the Standing Orders Committee. It must be apparent from the form in which the matter was presented that those responsible failed to take the view represented by Mr. Hardie. He was bound to rule that the matter must be submitted as presented on the agenda.

A DELEGATE said that the amendment proposed was not consistent with a resolution seconded by the Fabian Society at the previous Conference. They seconded a resolution committing the Party to making the Act non-contributory, and now they were proposing an amendment which would commit the Party to certain amendments in preference to making the Act non-contributory. He was obliged to vote for making it non-contributory, and no matter how much in sympathy he might be with the amendment he could not support it unless the suggestion of Mr. Hardie was acted upon.

<sup>11</sup>MR. W. H. AYLES (I.L.P.) said it would be a very dangerous thing if the Conference had pledged to the whole of the details in the amendment in preference to the resolution. He would have liked to have seen the resolution worded in a different way, to have meant that the Insurance Act should be established upon a national and non-contributory basis. There were many details in the amendment. The Conference should not deal with details but leave them to the Parliamentary Party.

COUNCILLOR J. S. SALT (Leicester Labour Party) supported the amendment because he believed it would work most good with those who needed it. If they were to proceed at all he was afraid they must proceed by instalments. By adopting the amendment they would be doing a useful and good work on behalf of those less favoured than themselves.

MR. FRED KNEE (London T.C.) said he could not vote for the amendment on account of its impractical character. The friends of the Fabian Society were always preening themselves on their immensely practical capacity. On this occasion they were not practical. They suggested that the Government should be asked to exclude all societies connected with profit-making concerns. The Government would not do anything of the kind, and Mr. Sanders and Mrs. Webb ought to know that very well. The Act was passed on purpose to help to build up huge fortunes for the great Insurance Companies, and the Insurance Companies were not going to let go nor were the Government willing to let them go. The basic principle of the scheme was that the man paid, the employer paid, and the State paid. If a man was out of work, however, and consequently had no employer, there was no employer to pay. The Fabian Society had better think about the matter a little more. Why should the Conference accept the amendment? Only because certain very practical people professing to want something must needs go and vote for something they didn't want. That was a curious practical method. That was what some of their friends were always doing. They did not want the contributory scheme so they proposed to bolster it up. He objected to the amendment altogether.

On the amendment being put there voted :

For .. .. ..	569,000
Against .. .. ..	976,000

and it was declared defeated. The resolution was then put and agreed to.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P., formally moved the following :—

*In consequence of the many anomalous decisions given by the Umpires in connection with Part II. of the National Insurance Act, and having regard to the large contributions demanded from low-paid wage-earners, this Conference instructs the Executive Committee of the Labour Party to make every possible effort to get Part II. of the National Insurance Act made universal and non-contributory.*

The resolution was formally seconded, and agreed to.

MR. T. GAVAN-DUFFY (Iron Ore Miners) moved the following :—

*That immediate steps be taken by the Labour Party in Parliament to have the whole of Clause 11, relating to the treatment of men in receipt of compensation for accidents, struck out of the National Insurance Act.*

He said that in the previous year there was paid out in compensation over £4,000,000, and under the provisions of the Insurance Act every part of that sum would be used to subsidise the Insurance Act. Then if a person either neglected or refused to take action under the Compensation Act the power to do so rested with the approved society. This was work that had always been done by Trade Unions. If an approved society took up a case, took it to the courts, and had to pay in costs perhaps £2,000, that amount would come from out of the sick funds.

MR. G. W. PORTER (Portsmouth Trades Council) seconded, and the resolution was agreed to.

MR. W. T. WILSON, M.P. (Westhoughton Labour Association) moved :

*That this Conference urges the Members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons to press upon the Government the advisability of establishing a State Medical Service.*

He said that what was meant by a State Medical Service was a real medical service—hospital treatment and treatment for diseases that required operation, and a service that would be applied to everybody. There was no State Medical Service under the Insurance Act. Some people would receive medical attendance and medicines but a large number would not. A large number of men and women would be entitled to medical treatment under the Act but all the women and children ought to be entitled also.

MR. C. D. HISCOCKS (Railway Clerks) seconded, and said it was time the cost of hospital service, on which the workers had to depend, came out of Imperial taxation.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

MR. H. J. ROLF (East Ham L.R.C.) moved :

*That the Labour Party press upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer the necessity of payment of 10s. per attendance on General or Sub-Committees to members of County and District Insurance Committees.*

He said they were asked to appoint representatives of the working classes to these Committees to prevent the benefits of the Act being abused, but those representatives were not allowed their out-of-pocket expenses. It was not right to expect men to lose a day's work every week, particularly as expenses were paid to members of the courts of referees under Part II of the Act.

A DELEGATE formally seconded, and the resolution was agreed to.

## TAXI-CAB DISPUTE.

COUNCILLOR BEN TURNER (Weavers) moved the following special resolution :—

*That this Conference heartily congratulates the taxi-cab drivers of London on the splendid stand they are making in their fight for the right to live; further, seeing that the burden of the increased price of petrol falls upon the already badly paid taxi-driver, calls upon the Labour Party immediately to bring before Parliament the action of the Petrol Trust in raising the price of petrol to such an extent as to bring ruin and starvation into thousands of workingmen's homes throughout London.*

He said the cabdrivers had been fighting for a month and they had fought well. It was a marvellous thing that only twenty blacklegs had been found in the whole of London. The men deserved the sympathy and support of the Party. He believed they wanted some money and he hoped they would get it.

MR. A. SMITH (Cabdrivers) seconded and said there were over 5,000 drivers standing out and not one had returned to work since the beginning of the strike. The Conference would realise the difficulties the men had to face. They were fighting not only the Cab Proprietors' Federation but also the Petrol Trust and the French Motor-cab Companies, whose capital was invested in the industry in London. The men had fought their own battle and had raised practically £4,000 per week. In the whole course of their existence they had never made an appeal to societies for financial support, but they realised they were fighting the same fight the French drivers had fought unsuccessfully. They, however, did not intend to be defeated. The strike not only affected the cabmen but many other men employed in the industry. They did not want a merely pious resolution to be carried; they wanted it to take effect in Parliament and result also in financial aid.

The resolution was put and agreed to.

A DELEGATE moved :

*That the Conference adjourn for lunch for one hour only.*

This was seconded, put, and agreed to.

## NATIONAL MINIMUM.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (I.L.P.) moved the following :—

*That this Conference urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to press upon the Government the resolutions carried at the many War against Poverty Conferences demanding legislation next session to secure to every person a national minimum of civilised life by measures providing for a legal minimum wage in agriculture and all industries, the reduction of the hours of labour to 48 hours per week, complete provision against sickness, the guarantee of a national minimum of child nurture, the prevention of unemployment, the building of healthy homes for all, and the abolition of the Poor Law.*

He said that such questions as a National Minimum, the Eight-Hours' Day, and Housing Reform, had again and again been adopted by the Conference and therefore there was no need again to enter fully into their merits. As delegates knew, owing to great political questions like Home Rule, the Labour Party had not had the opportunity to bring so prominently before Parliament the more immediate industrial questions it had been able to raise in previous Sessions. Now that Home Rule was getting out of the way the Party would be able to press those industrial questions which were responsible for its being. In the proposal of a National Minimum there were a whole series of questions hanging together and forming a general attack on poverty in all its forms. If the Labour Party was to become very strong it must attack fundamentally the whole of the poverty question. The I.L.P. and the Fabian Society had been waging a big campaign throughout the country, and were hoping to secure the co-operation of all the Trade Unions and Labour and Socialist forces. In conjunction with the Labour Party they were proposing to draft a series of Bills embodying the main heads of the campaign—a living wage for all, a decent healthy home for all, proper hours of labour for all, and the stamping out of all conditions below the minimum. If all their forces joined together in this work they would build up a strong race of men and women and that stronger race would fight for freedom in all its phases.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Society) seconded and said the campaign had received a remarkably spontaneous response from the rank and file of the great Labour Movement, which showed that the desire of the working classes for social reform had not been exhausted. They believed that it was the business of the Labour Party above all other parties to give the lead in the House of Commons to these demands for social reform, and he hoped the Conference would give a unanimous backing to the proposals so that the Labour Party might speak in the name of close upon two million organised workers.

MR. G. ROWLERSON (Tailors) said he would like to impress upon the Conference that the position of the tailors was likely to be worse under the Trade Boards Act than it was formerly.

MR. D. GILMOUR (Miners) moved :—

That the resolution be referred back. He did so on account of the reference to a 48 hours' week instead of an eight hours' day. No man wanted to work eight hours on a Saturday, and if the resolution were carried it would be for the Labour Party to introduce a Bill for a 48 hours' week.

A DELEGATE seconded, and on being put it was declared lost.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Conference at this point adjourned for lunch.

The Conference resumed at 1.30 p.m.

## ELECTORAL REFORM.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL (Belfast T.C.) moved the following composite resolution :—

That, in view of the declaration of the Prime Minister that the Government intend to introduce a Redistribution Bill, the Labour Party declare that no scheme of Redistribution will be satisfactory which does not include a system of Proportional Representation applicable to all parts of the United Kingdom.

He said the delegates would be aware that on paper at least Ireland was to get Proportional Representation. At first it was adopted in the election of the Senate and after some trouble it was decided to apply it to all constituencies returning more than two Members. There were not many, but it was a beginning and to the Labour Movement in Ireland, more particularly that part of it in the north-east corner, such a concession would be decidedly advantageous. They would all agree that some change in the present system must come. That being so, what they had to decide was the best method to put in its place. The people he represented believed that the best possible system was Proportional Representation because it promised to all minorities of substance representation according to their voting strength. The system was already in existence in various places and it had been found to operate to the benefit of considerable minorities. At any time for the asking they could get one-third of the votes of the whole of Belfast but they could get no representation either in Parliament or in the City Council. They believed that any system which would give them representation inside an assembly commensurate with their voting strength in the constituencies was a system which could not possibly harm them or anybody else. One of the arguments against the adoption of the system was its great cost, but he thought that was fast becoming exploded. It was not necessary that an election should be conducted over a large area with the same intensified feeling as existed at the present time over a smaller area. It would be necessary to get at the people by circular or otherwise, but concentration on that part of the area where the vote was favourable would be sufficient to return their man.

MR. P. J. BERRISFORD (Weymouth T.C.) seconded and said he regarded the question as one of the utmost importance to the Labour Movement. The Labour Party would have to choose between the Alternative Vote and Proportional Representation when the Redistribution Bill was brought forward. If the Labour Party wished to improve its position at the next election it must go in for a system of Proportional Representation.

COUNCILLOR EGERTON P. WAKE (Barrow Labour Party) moved an amendment :—

To delete the words "Proportional Representation" and insert "Alternative Vote."

He said there were certainly two things upon which the Conference would be agreed. One was that the present system, whereby a representative in the House of Commons might represent a minority of his constituents, was intolerable. The second point was that the Second Ballot was discredited by the experience of comrades on the Continent and in other parts of the world. The advocates of Proportional Representation would say that the Alternative Vote was only a variation of the Second Ballot, but in the same way it was quite possible to say that Proportional Representation itself was only an exaggeration of the Alternative Vote. He wanted the Conference to be very guarded in the way it expressed itself upon the question. By the literature with which the Proportional Representation Society had submerged the delegates it seemed to him the intention of the Society to try and stampede the country and the Conference into supporting Proportional Representation before the Movement as a whole had had an adequate opportunity of considering the two systems. The Alternative Vote would allow the retention of the present system of single-Member constituencies, and before they discarded that system, which they would be compelled to discard if they adopted Proportional Representation, they ought to pause and seriously consider the whole problem. If they did away with the single-Member constituencies they would do away to a large extent with the personal element in representation. The Proportional Representationists seemed to imagine that democracy was merely a matter of mathematics. There were other elements in democracy besides the mere counting of heads. It had not been explained why the second, third, or fourth preference of one voter should be of equal value to the first preference of another voter. The Conference ought not to commit itself to either of the two systems until the Executive had given a pronouncement and until the movement had had an opportunity of sizing up the whole situation financially and otherwise.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League) seconded the amendment and said that as a practical electioneer she was perfectly certain the Labour Party would be at a very great disadvantage with the larger constituencies and the larger number of candidates who would come forward under the system of Proportional Representation. That system was only an advantage in small countries where the electors had reached a high level of intelligence; and speaking as an Australian, to take the example of Australia and New Zealand did not lead anywhere when they considered the very poor level of political intelligence in this country. She did not think there was the slightest doubt that with the increased number of candidates and the increased areas it would be impossible to combat the richer candidates and parties who would come into opposition.

## INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE.

MR. J. CROSS (Textile Workers) moved :—

*That this Conference is of opinion that the Trade Unions of the country should take up the business of Industrial Life Insurance, so as to provide for their members the means, by weekly payments, to secure similar benefits now given by other insurance companies which are directed and controlled by private capital.*

He said this was not a new matter ; he believed that already the Brassworkers had taken in hand the insurance of their members, and it had proved a very great success. The present price paid for life insurance was higher than it need be and if the matter was taken up by the Trade Unions it would no doubt have a cementing effect on the members. He hoped the matter would be taken seriously into consideration.

MR. C. PRIESTLEY (Manchester and Salford T.C.) seconded and said he knew it was easy to persuade workmen to invest a penny a week for a respectable funeral, but he could not persuade them to pay a halfpenny a day for a respectable newspaper that would help them to fight for a respectable living. He appealed for the passing of the resolution and for its materialising in some definite action.

MR. H. DUBERY (I.L.P.) said those whom he represented did not agree with the resolution. They wanted the nation, not the Trade Unions, to take up insurance.

The resolution was put and declared carried.

## THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

MR. F. KNEE (London T.C.) formally moved :—

*That, in view of the action of the Government in its intervention in the industrial disputes of the past year and the tendency towards the principle of compulsory arbitration, this Conference reaffirms the importance of maintaining unimpaired the Right to Strike, and declares that that right must be jealously guarded and every attempt to impair it energetically resisted.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

## WAR.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League) formally moved the following :—

*That this Conference strongly protests against militarism in all its forms, and declares that it is in the interest of the workers throughout the world that they should bring every pressure to bear upon their respective Governments with a view to obtaining the settlement of disputes between nations by arbitration. It calls upon the wives and mothers of the working class to assist in this work by teaching their children the meaning of the international solidarity of the workers and the necessity of redirecting the national energies at present spent on militarism into the great work of raising the burdens of poverty from the workers of all lands.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

## HOUSING REFORM.

The following composite resolution, standing in the name of the Women's Labour League and the Clitheroe Weavers, was formally moved, seconded, and agreed to.

*That this Conference calls upon all Labour Organisations to use their utmost endeavours to ensure that the powers given under the various Housing Acts be put into force, and new powers given to the Local Government Board, so as to procure a drastic reform of our present housing conditions, with the object of obtaining for every household a self-contained home, with a sufficient water supply, a bathroom, a larder and a scullery ; and securing that in all proposals to clear away slums in urban centres a first requirement shall be the provision of open spaces planted with trees.*

*This Conference further urges amendments of the Housing and Town Planning Act and the regulations made under it, so as to simplify the procedure with regard to town planning and to enable local authorities to carry out Housing Schemes for all classes of the population.*

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

MR. W. MARSLAND (Textile) formally moved :—

*That efforts be made to secure amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act which will provide—*

(1) *That in no case shall an employer be allowed to pay an injured workman less than a weekly allowance of 50 per cent. of an ordinary full week's wages, and where the allowance on that basis would amount to less than 20s. and more than 10s. per week, not less than 20s. shall be paid ; and when any workman is in receipt of a wage not exceeding 20s. per week, a weekly allowance equal to the full amount of his wages shall be paid during the time he is incapacitated through an accident and entitled to compensation under the Act.*

(2) *That where an agreement to pay compensation has been registered in court, it shall be illegal for the employer to discontinue the payment of such compensation without the sanction of the said court, until the injured workman has either fully recovered from the accident, or received a lump sum in commutation of his claim.*

(3) *That the workman shall be given the same right to appeal against the report of a Medical Referee as is now secured by the Act for the employer.*

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

The following resolution standing in the name of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union was formally moved, seconded and agreed to :—

(1) *That the onus of proving the employer is prejudiced in his defence by want of notice be thrown on to the employer, instead of as at present, on the workman.*

(2) *That if an employer refuses to give a memorandum in the same terms as would be given in an award, a question shall be deemed to have arisen.*

(3) *That all principals undertaking any work shall be liable to workmen employed by sub-contractors.*

(4) *That in calculating the average earnings of casual workers regard shall be had to amounts actually earned by them in the employ of any employer.*

(5) *That agreements for lump-sum settlements before any weekly sum has been paid to the workman shall only be valid after having been recorded in the same way as agreements for lump sums after compensation has been paid.*

(6) *That the costs of any reference to a Medical Referee shall follow the event of the Medical Referee's decision.*

(7) *That all appeals from a County Court of any sort or kind arising under or connection with Workmen's Compensation shall go direct to the Court of Appeal.*

#### FEEDING OF NECESSITOUS SCHOOL CHILDREN.

COUNCILLOR J. S. SALT (Leicester Labour Party) moved :—

*That this Conference is of opinion that the feeding of necessitous school children should be compulsory in all parts of the United Kingdom and maintained throughout the school holidays. Further, that grants in aid should be provided by the National Exchequer, and that the limit of the  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  rate should be abolished.*

He said there was strong desire from Leicester that the Parliamentary Party should leave no stone unturned to get the Bill amended in the manner indicated.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL (Belfast T.C.) seconded and said he desired to draw special attention to the words in the resolution "in all parts of the United Kingdom."

The resolution was put and agreed to.

#### PARLIAMENTARY PARTY.

MR. J. KINNIBURGH (Electrical Trades Union) moved :—

That this Conference looks with disapproval on the inactivity displayed by the Labour Members in the House of Commons on behalf of Labour.

He regretted that this resolution came near the end of the Conference proceedings. He desired to disturb that happy family gathering. What had been the result of all their aspirations and desires? What Hardie said years ago was that what was

wanted was men on the floor of the House of Commons not for legislative purposes but for propaganda. That was what he (the speaker) as a revolutionary wanted. What about the reduction in the tea duty? Did any Labour man get up in the House of Commons and object to the taxation of the tea of the worker? Not one of them. They also voted for a House of Lords in Ireland. Mr. MacDonald had told them all about it and why they did it, &c. What about the raising of the load-line on ships? Had the Labour Members done anything? If they were out for democracy and the emancipation of the worker could they depend upon the 40 Labour men? Why didn't they do the work? Because they had received their social revolution. They forgot the men on a pound a week. If he himself were in the House of Commons he would do the very same thing. He did not care a twopenny toss for the whole of the Parliamentary Party. He was expressing the sentiments of the people who made Labour Representation possible. If this was all the result of 20 years' work then God help the people!

MR. J. G. BUTLER (Royal Army Clothing Employees) seconded and said he stood there as a representative of Government workers to tell the Conference that the position of Government workers was worse now than it had ever been. That, in his opinion, was a reason why he should take the opportunity of seconding the resolution, with a view to urging the Parliamentary Party that it was their obvious duty to force the Government to apply Trade Union conditions right throughout the whole of the Government service. When there were only Messrs. Shackleton, Crooks and Hardie in the House an increase from 21s. to 23s. was secured from the Conservative Government. With a Liberal Government and 40 Labour Members the result had been an increase of about threepence. Despite all that Mr. Lloyd George had asked employers to do under the Insurance Act, the Government had set one of the worst examples by treating their servants very badly.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P. said the mover had complained that his opportunity had not come earlier. Might he remind him that if he had cared to take advantage of it he had a very full opportunity to attack the Party from any point of view when discussing the Parliamentary Report. It had been complained at previous Conferences that the delegates were denied the opportunity of raising Parliamentary matters, and the Executive in order to provide ample opportunity had decided that the Parliamentary Report should not be a Chairman's Report but should be the report of the Parliamentary Party and be open for discussion. It would have suited the Parliamentary Party and the entire Conference if Mr. Kinnburgh had raised his question on the Report. It was all very well for the mover and seconder at the tail end of the Conference to make such charges.

MR. KINNIBURGH said he had endeavoured to raise the matter the day before.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that he clearly indicated that it all might have been raised on the Parliamentary or Executive's Report.

A DELEGATE asked whether the Party was afraid of it now.

MR. HENDERSON, resuming, said they were not, but they would rather have met the case with everybody present. Did the seconder lay the charges to which he had referred at the door of the Parliamentary Party? Had the Parliamentary Party done nothing for those whom Mr. Butler represented? He could say—and challenge contradiction—that never had any Party given the sympathetic consideration and desire to assist the Government workers as had the Labour Party, and if there had been time he would have been prepared to show that through the instrumentality of the Labour Party advances as good if not better had been secured since 1906 as were secured in the period referred to by the seconder. Let the question be put down at the proper time and he would venture to say that they would satisfy the entire Conference. Might he remind them that resolutions of thanks had come the previous year and the year before from Government workers. He sincerely hoped the Conference would show its disapproval of this eleventh-hour attack upon the Parliamentary Party by sweeping the resolution off the board.

MR. T. J. PITT (Government Stores Clerical Workers) opposed the resolution and said he was surprised that Mr. Butler should make such sweeping charges. He knew quite well that the Parliamentary Party was open to criticism in many things, but the Government workers had never had friends like them before. He had noticed that in the month of April last no less than 61 questions dealing with Government workers had been asked by the Labour Members and not a single question could be put without investigation. Mr. Butler knew, as he knew, that the United Government Workers' Federation were always in the Committee Room of the Parliamentary Party and the Party had always been prepared to take up any question they were asked to do. He said that in fairness to the Party.

MR. FRED KNEE (London T.C.) said he did not think Mr. Henderson had treated the Conference and Mr. Kinniburgh fairly in complaining that the matter had not been raised on the Parliamentary Report. He would remind Mr. Henderson that when the question of a dispute between the British Socialist Party and the Labour Party in connection with the International Socialist Bureau was reached in the Report delegates were referred to a later stage. He thought it would be well if at future Conferences there were some clear idea given when the subjects were to be discussed. He did not think the right word was used in the resolution. He for one was not going to accuse the Labour Party of

being inactive. They did a good deal; in fact, in some respects they did a great deal too much! They were very industrious about pettifogging little things, none of which mattered. His complaint was that the Party were not in line with the other working-class parties in the world; they were not a Socialist party and did not answer to the revolutionary description.

MR. J. A. WATERHOUSE (Railway Workers) opposed the resolution. He did not know what the Party had done for Government Workers, but he would venture to say that the Government workers and every other worker would have been far worse off if there had been no Labour Party.

MR. C. G. AMMON (Bermondsey L.R.C.) opposed the resolution and did so because, as a Postal Servant, he felt he was in a position to speak with more authority than those who had spoken before.

MR. J. G. BUTLER, interrupting, said he had not spoken in the name of the Government workers as a whole, but in the name of the Army Clothing Factory Employees' Union.

MR. AMMON, resuming, said that the Labour Party obtained a Committee of Inquiry into the Post Office at the point of the bayonet. When Mr. Samuel in the first instance refused the Committee he said it was the deliberate and considered reply of the Cabinet. Within seven days, however, the Government gave way and the Inquiry was now nearly completed. That would show that the Labour Party was doing something. He would ask the platform to say what they did for Mr. Butler when he was dismissed and the Labour Party struggled for months to get him back again into the Government Factory. Whatever the shortcomings of the Party might be, the broad fact was that they required the support of the mass of the people outside.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners) said the Parliamentary Party was not a revolutionary Socialist Party in the House of Commons. He wished it was, and if it was then Mr. Kinniburgh would have been perfectly right in arraigning them for not carrying on more propaganda work in the House of Commons. But the Party was a compromise between the Trade Union and the revolutionary Socialist Movements, and with all their failings the Party had done an immense amount of hard work for the Trade Unionists and the people of this country. He was not so sure but that, revolutionary as Mr. Kinniburgh was, if his Society were face to face with a difficulty that might be assisted by the interference of the Party in Parliament, an appeal would be made to the Party for that assistance. He would like again to repeat the thanks of the Miners to the Party for their magnificent work on behalf of the Miners' Federation. The Party were approached with a request to take a certain line of action. He knew that Members of the Party believed that line of action was wrong, but they sunk their views in the interests of the Miners and did certain

things they would have preferred not to do. Those who were propagandists would work as hard as possible to make the Party in the House of Commons as advanced and as revolutionary as was wanted, but in the meantime it was not their duty to let it go out to the very people they wanted to fight that they condemned their own Party. Were they in a position to go to mass meetings and endeavour to persuade the workers that it was their duty to leave other political parties and join the Labour Party when that Party was condemned in such language as had just been used?

It was moved, and agreed to

*That the question be put.*

The resolution was then put and declared lost, only 14 voting in favour.

#### GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

MR. G. W. PORTER (Portsmouth T.C.) moved:—

This Conference is of opinion that the time is ripe for the creating of Government Workers' Conciliation Boards, and urges the Labour Group in Parliament to press the matter upon the Government.

He said that at present the workmen stated their desires by petition. The petitions were sent up and the usual reply ultimately was that the request was not acceded to, but no reason was given. That was not good enough. The men ought to know why their requests were not granted, and therefore they asked the Parliamentary Party to try and establish Conciliation Boards in order that matters might be threshed out.

MR. T. PROCTOR (Engineers) seconded.

MR. W. A. CURTIS (Woolwich T.C.) said that on behalf of the workmen in Woolwich Arsenal he had strongly opposed the resolution. They thought that Conciliation Boards would be very little better than the existing system.

MR. A. F. JOHNSON (Postmen's Federation) opposed the resolution. He had yet to learn that the experience of Conciliation Boards was satisfactory. There was now in existence a Civil Service Federation to which the Portsmouth comrades could belong, and he suggested that the proposal be dropped at least for one year to give them an opportunity of coming into the Federation. Then it might be possible to come forward with an agreed resolution.

The resolution was put and declared lost.

MR. P. DALEY (Kew Gardens' Employees) moved:—

*That this Conference of the Labour Party calls upon the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to grant immediately to its employees in the Royal Gardens, Kew, a working week of 48 hours.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

MR. T. J. PITT (Government Stores Clerical Association) moved:—

*That this Conference of the Labour Party considers that the Government deals most unfairly with the clerical staff in the Store-houses of the Army and Naval Ordnance Department at Woolwich, inasmuch as the men thus employed do not receive adequate pay for the duties they perform, neither are their conditions of service by any means equal to those enjoyed by men performing similar work under other public authorities in the London area; this Conference further considers that the appeal of these men for a uniform scale of pay and title and for establishment should be immediately granted, and calls upon Labour Members of Parliament to take immediate action in order to attain this end.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### EDUCATION.

ALDERMAN P. WALLS (Blastfurnacemen) moved:—

*That this Conference strongly condemns the charging of fees for higher education, and urges the Labour Party to take steps to obtain the total abolition of fees in secondary and technical schools.*

The resolution was formally seconded.

MR. E. H. JARVIS (Amalgamated Carpenters) moved the following amendment:

*To add: "and demands a national inquiry into all educational endowments."*

The amendment was seconded, put and agreed to.

The resolution as amended was then put and carried.

#### THE BLIND.

COUNCILLOR C. IREMONGER (Lambeth L.R.C.) moved:—

*This Conference, realising that the necessity of State Aid for the Blind is urgent and imperative, instructs the Labour Members to press upon the Government the necessity for granting facilities for the speedy passage into law of the Blind Aid Bill, as promoted by the National League of the Blind.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### RAILWAY SUPERANNUATION FUNDS.

The following resolution standing in the names of the Railway Clerks' Association was formally moved, seconded, and agreed to.

*That this Conference calls serious attention to the unsatisfactory condition of many of the Railway Superannuation Funds, expresses its emphatic condemnation of the indifference displayed by the Board of Trade in regard to the important recommendations contained in the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the working of these Funds, and hereby instructs the Party in Parliament to bring pressure to bear upon the President of the Board of Trade with the view of inducing him to institute legislative measures to give effect to the findings of his Departmental Committee.*

## EVICTIONS.

MR. HERBERT SMITH (Miners) moved :—

*That this Conference urges the Labour Party at once to introduce a Bill in the House of Commons to prevent working people being evicted from their homes by employers of labour during trade disputes.*

He said the Miners' Federation had decided that unless legislation was brought in to stop the system of evicting workmen they would resort to a strike to put a stop to it.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

## GOVERNMENT INSPECTION OF OFFICES.

The following composite resolution, standing in the name of the Railway Clerks' Association and the National Union of Clerks, was formally moved, seconded, and agreed to.

*That, having regard to the high death rate from consumption amongst clerical workers, this Conference is of opinion that all offices should be subjected to statutory regulations as to sanitation, ventilation, cubic air-space, limitation of hours of labour, night-work, &c., and instructs the Parliamentary Party to press for facilities for the Bills promoted by the National Union of Clerks and the Railway Clerks' Association, and to support the Factory and Workshop (No. 2) Bill by which all basement offices are brought within its scope.*

## CAB TRADE LEGISLATION.

MR. A. SMITH (London Cabdrivers) formally moved :—

*That this Conference instructs the Labour Party to assist the London Cabdrivers' Trade Union to obtain the transference of the Licensing Authorities from the Metropolitan Police to the London County Council, in respect to trams, omnibuses and cabs, and also in respect of all drivers and conductors of those vehicles; and, further, to take the necessary steps to make it compulsory for owners of stage and hackney carriages to place speedometers on all such conveyances.*

*That this Conference instructs the Labour Party to introduce a Bill providing for the compulsory municipalisation of all trams, tubes, and omnibuses, thus making it illegal for the same to be owned and controlled by private persons.*

*That this Conference reaffirms the resolution of 1910, instructing the Labour Party to obtain an alteration of the Motor Car Act, 1903, so far as it affects Motor Cabdrivers in*

*Sub-Section 2 of Section 3, wherein a driver has to pay 5s., in addition to the 5s. he pays to the authorities at Scotland Yard, for the privilege of driving a motor-cab: also to continue their efforts to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act so as to bring Motor Cabdrivers within the provisions of the said Act.*

*That this Conference instructs the Labour Party to secure the issue of licenses to all licensed drivers for an inclusive charge of 5s.*

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

## VOTES OF THANKS.

MR. W. MARSLAND (Textile Workers) moved :—

*That the heartiest vote of thanks be given to the President, Mr. Roberts, for the successful manner in which he has conducted the business of the Conference.*

He said that the manner of the Chairman in conducting the business and his fairness to every delegate had never been exceeded by any previous Chairman.

ALDERMAN P. J. WALLS (Blastfurnacemen), seconding, said that their Chairman possessed both tact and merit.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN replied thanking the delegates for the vote.

MR. T. GAVAN-DUFFY moved :—

*That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Press for the reports given of the proceedings.*

He said it was his belief that they were terminating the most successful Conference the Party had ever held. Although the resolution expressed thanks to the Press generally, they must express special thanks to their own paper *The Daily Citizen*. For the first time they had had their own journalists present and their own paper established. If there was one thing he would specially like to say it was that the delegates would go away determined to work night and day to make the *Daily Citizen* a success.

The resolution was put and carried; and the Chairman then declared the Conference closed.



## APPENDIX I.

# CONSTITUTION.

(As revised under the authority of the Birmingham Conference, 1912.)

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### I.—AFFILIATION.

1.—The Labour Party is a Federation consisting of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies, and Local Labour Parties.

2.—A Local Labour Party in any constituency is eligible for affiliation, provided it accepts the Constitution and policy of the Party, and that there is no affiliated Trades Council covering the constituency, or that, if there be such a Council, it has been consulted in the first instance.

3.—Co-operative Societies are also eligible.

4.—A National Organisation of Women, accepting the basis of this Constitution, and the policy of the Party, and formed for the purpose of assisting the Party, shall be eligible for affiliation as though it were a Trades Council.

### II.—OBJECT.

To organise and maintain in Parliament and the country a political Labour Party.

### III.—CANDIDATES AND MEMBERS.

Candidates and Members must maintain this Constitution ; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour Candidates only ; abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party ; and accept the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice.

### IV.—CANDIDATURES.

1.—A Candidate must be promoted by one or more affiliated Societies which make themselves responsible for his election expenses.

2.—A Candidate must be selected for a constituency by a regularly convened Labour Party Conference in the constituency. [The Hull Conference accepted the following as the interpretation of what a "regularly convened Labour Party Conference" is :—All branches of affiliated organisations within a constituency or divided borough covered by a proposal to run a Labour Candidate must be invited to send delegates to the Conference, and the local organisation responsible for calling the Conference may, if it thinks fit, invite representatives from branches of organisations not affiliated but eligible for affiliation.]

3.—Before a Candidate can be regarded as adopted for a constituency, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive ; and where at the time of a bye-election no Candidate has been so sanctioned, the National Executive shall have power to withhold its sanction.

4.—Twenty-five per cent. of the Returning Officer's net expenses shall be paid in respect of Candidates, but no such payment shall be made to a Candidate of any Society which is in arrears in its contributions to the Party.

### V.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive shall consist of sixteen members, eleven representing the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, Women's Organisations, and Local Labour Parties, and three the Socialist Societies, who shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Conference by their respective sections, and the Treasurer, who shall also be elected by the Conference.

# APPENDICES.

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- I. Constitution.
- II. Standing Orders.
- III. The Parliamentary Labour Party.
- IV. Labour Party Conferences.
- V. General Strike against War Manifesto.
- VI. International Manifesto on the Balkan War.

## VI.—DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive Committee shall

1.—Appoint a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, and shall transact the general business of the Party;

2.—Issue a list of its Candidates from time to time, and recommend them for the support of the electors;

3.—Take all necessary steps to maintain this Constitution;

4.—All its members shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party.

## VII.—THE SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Conference, and shall be under the direction of the National Executive.

## VIII.—AFFILIATION FEES AND DELEGATES.

1.—Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall pay 1d. per member per annum, with a minimum of 10s., and may send to the Annual Conference one delegate for each thousand members.

2.—Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties with 5,000 members or under shall be affiliated on an annual payment of 15s.; similar organisations with a membership of over 5,000 shall pay £1 10s., the former Councils to be entitled to send one delegate with one vote to the Annual Conference, the latter to be entitled to send two delegates and have two votes.

3.—In addition to these payments a delegate's fee to the Annual Conference may be charged.

## IX.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The National Executive shall convene a Conference of its affiliated Societies in the month of January each year.

Notice of resolutions for the Conference and all amendments to the Constitution shall be sent to the Secretary by November 1st, and shall be forthwith forwarded to all affiliated organisations.

Notice of amendments and nominations for Treasurer, Secretary and National Executive shall be sent to the Secretary by December 15th, and shall be printed on the Agenda.

## X.—VOTING AT ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

There shall be issued to affiliated Societies represented at the Annual Conference voting cards as follows:—

1.—Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall receive one voting card for each thousand members, or fraction thereof paid for.

2.—Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties shall receive one card for each delegate they are entitled to send.

Any delegate may claim to have a vote taken by card.

## APPENDIX II.

# STANDING ORDERS.

---

### CONTRIBUTIONS.

Affiliation Fees must be paid by December 31st each year.

### ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

- 1.—The Annual Conference shall meet during the month of January.
- 2.—Affiliated Societies may send one delegate for every thousand or part of a thousand members paid for.
- 3.—Affiliated Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties may send one delegate if their affiliation fee has been 15s., and two delegates if the fee has been 30s.
- 4.—Persons eligible as delegates must be paying *bona fide* members or paid permanent officials of the organisation sending them.
- 5.—A fee of 5s. per delegate shall be charged.
- 6.—The National Executive shall ballot for the places to be allotted to the delegates.
- 7.—Voting at the Conference shall be by show of hands, but on a division being challenged, delegates shall vote by cards, which shall be issued on the basis of one card for each thousand members, or fraction of a thousand, paid for by the Society represented.

### CONFERENCE AGENDA.

- 1.—When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.
- 2.—Resolutions for the Agenda and the Amendments to the Constitution must be sent in by November 1st each year.
- 3.—Amendments to Resolutions must be sent in by December 15th each year.

### NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, TREASURERSHIP, AND SECRETARYSHIP.

- 1.—Nominations for the National Executive, the Treasurership, and Secretaryship must be sent in by December 15th.
- 2.—No member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress or of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions is eligible for nomination to the National Executive.

## APPENDIX III.

## THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.

Constituency.				Votes polled, in December Election, 1910.
Attercliffe	..	J. Pointer	..	6,532
Barrow-in-Furness	..	C. Duncan	..	4,813
Blackfriars	..	G. N. Barnes	..	4,162
Bolton	..	A. H. Gill	..	10,108
Barnard Castle	..	A. Henderson	..	5,868
Bradford, W.	..	F. W. Jowett	..	7,729
Blackburn	..	P. Snowden	..	10,762
Clitheroe	..	A. Smith	..	12,107
Chesterfield	..	J. Haslam	..	7,283
Chester-le-Street	..	J. W. Taylor	..	*
Dundee	..	A. Wilkie	..	8,957
Derby	..	J. H. Thomas	..	9,144
Deptford	..	C. W. Bowerman	..	6,357
Derbyshire, Mid.	..	J. G. Hancock	..	6,557
Derbyshire, N.E.	..	W. E. Harvey	..	7,838
Glamorgan, S.	..	W. Brace	..	10,190
Glamorgan, Gower	..	J. Williams	..	5,480
Gorton	..	J. Hodge	..	7,840
Fife, W.	..	W. Adamson	..	6,128
Halifax	..	J. Parker	..	8,511
Hallamshire	..	J. Wadsworth	..	8,708
Ince	..	S. Walsh	..	7,117
Leeds, E.	..	J. O'Grady	..	4,028
Leicester	..	J. R. MacDonald	..	12,998
Manchester, E.	..	J. E. Sutton	..	5,524
Manchester, N.E.	..	J. R. Clynes	..	4,313
Merthyr	..	J. Keir Hardie	..	11,507
Monmouth, W.	..	T. Richards	..	*
Newcastle	..	W. Hudson	..	16,447
Normanton	..	F. Hall	..	*
Norwich	..	G. H. Roberts	..	10,003
Nuneaton	..	W. Johnson	..	8,199
Rhondda	..	W. Abraham	..	9,073
Sunderland	..	F. W. Goldstone	..	11,291
Stafford, N.W.	..	A. Stanley	..	8,125
Stockport	..	G. J. Wardle	..	6,094
Woolwich	..	W. Crooks	..	8,252
West Ham, S.	..	W. Thorne	..	9,508
Westhoughton	..	W. T. Wilson	..	9,064
Whitehaven	..	T. Richardson	..	1,414

\* Unopposed.

**APPENDIX IV.**  
**LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES.**

Year.	Place of Conference.	Chairman.	No. of Delegates.	Membership.	Income of General Fund.
1900	LONDON	W. C. STEADMAN	129	568,177	£ —
1901	MANCHESTER	J. HODGE	82	456,438	243
1902	BIRMINGHAM	W. J. DAVIS	110	469,311	286
1903	NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	J. N. BELI	243	861,150	715
1904	BRADFORD	J. HODGE	355	969,800	1,009
1905	LIVERPOOL	D. J. SHACKLETON	348	900,000	1,305
1906	LONDON	A. HENDERSON	363	921,280	2,059
1907	BELFAST	J. J. STEPHENSON	347	998,338	2,768
1908	HULL	W. HUDSON	404	1,072,413	1,789
1909	PORTSMOUTH	J. R. CLYNES	399	1,152,786	2,057
1910	NEWPORT	J. KEIR HARDIE	448	1,486,308	3,953
1911	LEICESTER	W. C. ROBINSON	460	1,430,539	6,628*
1912	BIRMINGHAM	BEN TURNER	474	1,539,092	2,834*
1913	LONDON	G. H. ROBERTS	516	1,895,498	21,529†

\* Including Special Appeal Fund.

† Including all balances on amalgamation of General, Special and Parliamentary Funds.

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OF  
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FOR INDEX, SEE PAGE 120.

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J. J. STEPHENSON,  
(A.S. Engineers).

JOHN HODGE, M.P.  
(Steel Smelters).

BEN TURNER, J.P.  
(General Union of Weavers).

T. LOWTH  
(Railway Workers).

P. WALLS, J.P.  
(Blastfurnacemen).

H. ORBELL  
(Dockers).

STEPHEN WALSH, M.P.  
(Miners' Federation).

R. J. WILSON  
(Co-operative Employees).

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**Secretary :**

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.,  
28, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

# Report of the Executive

## 1911.

### MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the Party at the beginning of the year was 1,430,539 ; it is now 1,539,092. The total number of affiliated Trade Unions was 151 ; this year it is 141, the reduction being chiefly due to the operation of the Osborne Judgment, which has compelled certain Societies reluctantly to cease subscribing although otherwise they remain with us, though not counted in the above total.

Last year there were 84 Trades Councils and 64 Labour Parties affiliated ; there are now 83 Trades Councils and 66 Labour Parties.

The other organisations affiliated to the Party are the I.L.P., with a membership of 28,000, and the Fabian Society, representing 3,404 members, together with the Women's Labour League and the Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society.

Following the precedent of previous years, we add a table showing the membership of the Party since its formation in 1900.

	No.	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.		Socialist Societies.		Total.
		No.	Membership.	No.	Membership.	No.	Membership.	
1900-1	41	353,070		7		3	22,861	375,931
1901-2	65	455,450		21		2	13,861	469,311
1902-3	127	847,315		49		2	13,835	861,150
1903-4	165	956,025		76		2	13,775	969,800
1904-5	158	885,270		73		2	14,730	900,000
1905-6	158	904,496		73		2	16,784	921,280
1906-7	176	975,182		83		2	20,885	998,338 <sup>1</sup>
1907	181	1,049,673		92		2	22,267	1,072,413 <sup>2</sup>
1908	176	1,127,035		133		2	27,465	1,158,565 <sup>3</sup>
1909	172	1,450,648		155		2	30,982	1,486,308 <sup>4</sup>
1910	151	1,394,402		148		2	31,377	1,430,539 <sup>5</sup>
1911	141	1,501,783		149		2	31,404	1,539,092 <sup>6</sup>

### THE OSBORNE JUDGMENT.

We regret that we are unable to report any change in the law laid down by the Osborne Judgment, and we must call upon our affiliated societies to renew their demands upon their Members and Candidates for an undoing of this grave legal injustice.

The Parliamentary Party introduced a Bill to reverse the law but owing to failure to secure a position in the ballot for private Bills no opportunity arose for a Second Reading debate.

On May 24th the Government introduced a Bill, but, as the Party in Parliament immediately pointed out, it was full of anomalies and absurdities, and it was far better to let the Bill quietly drop as the Committees were so fully occupied at the time, that it could not be

<sup>1</sup> This total includes 2,271 Co-operators.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 472 Co-operators.

<sup>3</sup> Includes 563 Co-operators, and 3,500 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>4</sup> Includes 678 Co-operators, and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>5</sup> Includes 760 Co-operators, and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

<sup>6</sup> Includes 911 Co-operators, and 5,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

adequately discussed by any of them. On November 30th, the Chairman of the Party questioned the Prime Minister regarding the Government's intentions next year and received a promise that the Bill would be re-introduced. The Unions must show all political parties that they continue to regard this as a grievance of the most serious character, and that they will insist upon its removal without delay. Meanwhile the application of the Judgment continues to be made to Union after Union. Injunctions have now been granted against the following associations, while others are under process:—

A.S. Railway Servants.	United Patternmakers.
A.S. Engineers.	Northern Counties' Weavers.
North Wales Miners.	Devonport Government Labourers
South Wales Miners.	Operative Stonemasons.
Derbyshire Miners.	Card and Blowing Room
Lancashire and Cheshire Miners.	Operatives.
Nottingham Miners.	Bolton Spinners.
Durham Miners.	Bolton Weavers.
Fife Miners.	Shop Assistants.
Durham Miners' Mechanics.	Chatham Government Workers.
Typographical Association.	Preston Weavers.
Scottish Typographical Association.	Bolton Bleachers.
London Society of Compositors.	London Portmanteau and Trunk Makers.
Associated Ironmoulders of Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners.	Scotland.

#### BY-ELECTIONS.

During the year, we have fought four By-elections, and the following figures show the result in each contest:—

##### NORTH-EAST LANARKSHIRE, March 9th.

D. Millar (Liberal)	..	..	7,976
P. Goff (Conservative)	..	..	6,776
John Robertson (Labour)	..	..	2,896

Previous contests resulted as follows:—

##### 1901.

Sir W. H. Rattigan (Con.)	5,673	A. Findlay (Lib.)	..	5,619
Cecil B. Harmsworth (Lib.)	4,769	G. A. Touche (Con.)	..	4,677
R. Smillie (Lab.)	..	J. Robertson (Lab.)	..	3,984

##### 1910 (Jan.).

T. F. Wilson (Lib.)	..	9,105
J. R. Wilson (Con.)	..	7,012
J. Sullivan (Lab.)	..	2,160

##### KILMARNOCK BURGHS, September 26th.

W. G. C. Gladstone (Liberal)	..	..	6,923
Sir J. D. Rees (Conservative)	..	..	4,637
T. McKerrell (Labour)	..	..	2,761

##### KEIGHLEY, October 27th.

S. O. Buckmaster (Liberal)	..	..	4,667
W. Acworth (Conservative)	..	..	3,842
W. C. Anderson (Labour)	..	..	3,452

OLDHAM, November 13th.

E. R. Bartley Dennis (Conservative)	..	12,255
A. Lyulph Stanley (Liberal)	..	10,623
W. C. Robinson (Labour)	..	7,448

Although we have had no gains, these results show how extensive is the grip of the Party on the constituencies.

During the year, mainly owing to the position in which societies found themselves as a result of the Osborne decision, your Executive had to consider the question of rendering special financial assistance when constituencies obviously had to be fought in the interests of the National Party. Particulars will be found in the Statement of Accounts.

### CANDIDATES.

During the year, the candidatures of Mr. J. A. Seddon (Shop Assistants), for the Newton Division, and Mr. A. G. Cameron (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) for the Jarrow Division, have been sanctioned.

The following candidates have received our endorsement, and now form the List of Approved Candidates without constituencies, for whom the various organisations indicated have assumed financial responsibility :—

- Alfred Gould, 1, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull (Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners).
- Ald. J. H. Jenkins, J.P., 101, Romilly Road, Cardiff (Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association).
- A. G. Walkden, 337, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. (Railway Clerks' Association).
- Ben Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, London, E. (Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union).
- J. Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool (National Union of Dock Labourers).
- W. C. Anderson, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.
- J. Bruce Glasier, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.
- J. Burgess, 178, New Hey Road, Bradford.
- T. Russell Williams, Airedale, Farnhill, via Keighley.
- H. Snell, 3, Leighton Crescent, London, N.W.
- T. McKerrell, Mary Villa, Riccarton, Kilmarnock.
- M. T. Simm, 15, Oakfield Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- J. H. Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford.
- Geo. Banton, 19, St. Margaret's Street, Leicester.
- H. E. Witard, 75, St. George Street, Norwich.
- Dr. Alfred Salter, 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.
- Dr. E. H. Stancombe, Westbourne, College Place, Southampton.
- James Winstone, Snowden House, Freehold Land, Pontnewydd, Pontypool, Mon.
- R. C. Wallhead, 9, Hythe Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport.
- J. H. Hudson, Oaklands, Flixton, Lancs.  
(Independent Labour Party).

### PUBLICATIONS.

No special publication has been undertaken by the Party during the year, as a considerable stock of Leaflets, &c., was available for Propaganda and By-Election purposes. Arrangements are being made for the publication of a new series of leaflets on the Parliamentary work

of the Party, and they will be ready early in the year. Our leaflet dealing with Railway Nationalization has been largely in demand owing to the railway unrest. During the registration period we pursued our usual practice of issuing special editions of our Registration Leaflet adapted to our various constituencies. Similarly, in connection with the November Elections, localised editions of our Municipal Leaflets, Nos. 24, 25 and 32, to the number of 251,000 were printed. During the year, the total number of leaflets sold was 701,100, and the total number of canvass cards, 275,000.

#### GENERAL FINANCE.

At the beginning of the year, there was a balance in the General Fund of £802 7s. 10½d.; the Accounts we now present show a balance of £969 10s. 9d.

The Affiliation Fees for 1910 amounted to £1,096 15s.; the sum received under this head for 1911 totals £1,116.

Literature sales during 1910 totalled £2,924 18s., the greater portion of which covered supplies both for the January and December Elections; this year the income under this head amounts to £598 17s. 2d.

The total Income for the year was £2,595 10s. 8d., as compared with £4,890 4s. 9d. for 1910, the whole difference being due to receipts from election literature as stated above.

The Expenditure for 1910 was £4,625 6s. 2½d.; this year it totals £2,428 7s. 9½d.

As in previous years, the Statement of Accounts does not allow for valuation of our stock of leaflets, posters, canvass cards, office furniture, &c.

It must be remembered that our literature cannot very easily be valued, as its value largely depends on political circumstances, and this year a considerable stock of our posters and leaflets was rendered useless by the passing of the Parliament Bill and the consequent removal of the House of Lords Question from present controversy.

#### PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

The balance to the credit of the Parliamentary Fund at the beginning of the year was £8,411 3s. 11d.

Subscriptions, Bank Interest, Repayment of Loans, &c., have totalled £12,085 11s. 10½d., against which is to be placed an Expenditure of £7,290 15s. 4d., leaving a balance in hand at the end of the year of £13,206 0s. 5½d. These figures include £6,000 paid to our Members for Maintenance, of which £3,900 has been refunded by them as a result of the introduction of Payment of Members by the State.

#### SPECIAL APPEAL FUND.

The balance in this Fund at the beginning of the year was £928 11s. 6½d.; since then £239 8s. 1½d. has been received, and £1,154 17s. 2d. has been expended.

Grants from the Fund in connection with the various By-elections have amounted to £345.

The balance in hand at the end of the year is £13 2s. 6d.

## JOINT BOARD.

We have been represented on the Joint Board by Messrs. Ben Turner (our Chairman), Arthur Henderson, M.P., J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and the Secretary.

During the early part of the year the Board was chiefly engaged in consideration of the Right to Work Bill, which was finally sent forward to the Parliamentary Labour Party and printed for circulation.

On several occasions the question of overlapping and unification has been under discussion. The Board summoned a Special Meeting of the three Committees on April 25th. Reference is made to this subject under a special heading elsewhere, and action has been suspended until certain recommendations upon the subject have been endorsed by the separate sections of the movement affected.

A sub-committee of the Board considered the National Insurance Bill and presented a memorandum on the subject to meetings of the three full Committees held on May 26th and June 19th. On June 21st a Conference of the whole movement, under the auspices of the Joint Board, was held in the Memorial Hall, London, for the purpose of discussing the Bill, the memorandum referred to being taken as a basis.

At the same Conference the Government's Trade Union Bill was discussed, and the following resolution was carried almost unanimously :

“ That this Conference reaffirms previous decisions of Labour and Trade Union National Conferences that political action is an essential part of the activities of every combination of labour whose statutory purpose is to regulate the relations between employer and employed, and that therefore the question of whether this particular activity is to be engaged in or not ought in equity to be settled, as other questions are settled, by a majority of the members voting according to the rules of the union. The Conference therefore regards as unjust the limiting provisions of the Government Trade Union Bill, and asks the Labour Party in Parliament to do its utmost to get them removed ; it recommends the Labour Members of Parliament not to support the Third Reading of the Bill unless it is drastically amended.”

Various questions have been before the Board respecting the bona-fides of certain Unions. It has been decided that the Gunpowder Employees' Union cannot affiliate to any of the national Labour bodies. The question of the bona-fines of the Cumberland Iron Ore Miners is still under consideration.

The Board has adjudicated in several disputes between Unions, viz. : Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners *v.* Jewish Bakers' Union ; Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association *v.* British Steel Smelters' Association ; United Kingdom Coachmakers *v.* General Railway Workers' Union.

The Board was also responsible for a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on the occasion of a visit of a number of French co-operators to England.

## UNIFICATION OF LABOUR FORCES.

We have considered this matter further, and at our meeting on April 25th we adopted the three following resolutions, which were submitted to a Joint Meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and ourselves :—

“ That the present practice of three annual Conferences held at separate times of the year is expensive, leads to much waste of effort and to divergence of policy, and the amalgamation of the national bodies, without delay, should be aimed at.”

“ That a scheme for a central building, in Westminster, to be used by the Labour Movement, should be prepared.”

“ That a Committee be appointed to consider ways and means for the above proposals, and to report to a joint meeting of the three Executives within the next three months, with a view to its submission to the three national conferences.”

After a lengthy discussion, it was resolved that these resolutions be referred to the Joint Board, with instructions to report upon them without delay. The Joint Board afterwards agreed that until the resolutions had been placed before the Trade Union Congress and our own Conference the matter could not be carried further. They have now been passed by the Conference of the General Federation and by the Trades Union Congress, and we now recommend our delegates to adopt them.

### DEPUTATIONS.

The Executive has been represented at Conferences called to discuss candidatures and organisation at Rochdale, Cinderford, Consett, Eccles, Barnsley, Jarrow, Huddersfield, Islington, Keighley, Edinburgh, and elsewhere. Mr. W. Walker, J.P., attended the Conference of the Women's Labour League at Leicester as Fraternal Delegate. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was appointed to attend the Trades Union Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne as Fraternal Delegate, but owing to the illness of Mrs. MacDonald, he was unable to leave London, and Mr. Ben Turner, J.P., was substituted. Mr. W. C. Robinson, J.P., represented us at the Annual Meeting of the General Federation of Trade Unions at Dundee ; Mr. W. Walker, J.P., attended the Peace Congress at Edinburgh ; and Mr. Edw. R. Pease the Conference on Industrial Training which was held in the City of London Guildhall. The various reports are appended.

### TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Owing to the lamentable illness of the late Mrs. MacDonald, Mr. MacDonald could not attend the Trades Congress and it was my lot to officiate on his behalf.

The Congress was as big and as important as ever, and its debating power stands high in the assemblies of the world. The resolutions on fusion, the use of military in times of trades disputes, the daily newspaper, and other important subjects were dealt with fully.

My remarks were very well received, and in them I said that the Labour Party had already made its influence felt in marked degree. It had indeed, changed the face of politics, and turned the thoughts of men in Parliament from visionary schemes of Imperialism to schemes of social reform and improvement. To many of those who took part in the foundation movement of the Labour Party many years ago, it was pleasant to know that in these days Conservatives and Liberals alike were constrained to talk about social and industrial reform whenever they discussed political matters upon their public platforms. That change had been caused by the Trades Union Congress and the establishment of the Labour Party, whose valuable work I hoped would continue and be successful. There had been many criticisms of Mr. MacDonald and the Labour Party as a whole, in respect to recent division lists of the House of Commons, and because also of what some people contended was want of activity on the part of the Labour group in the House of Commons ; but I wished those who made these complaints would read the "Quarterly Circular" of the Labour Party regularly, instead of putting it into the waste-paper basket unread. They would then discover that the Labour Party in the House of Commons tackled one question or another every day. They were by no means an idle body of men ; indeed, they were probably the most active group in the House.

Continuing, I said many observations had been made respecting the cross-voting in the House of Commons on the part of the Labour Party. They should not think that everything in the newspapers was gospel truth. Much was wrong and much was wilfully wrong. Therefore, it was really time for us to have our own newspaper to enable us to ascertain the truth. In conclusion, I appealed to every one not to do as many of our critics in the three national Labour organisations were doing—not to be always writing the Labour Party down, and speaking it down, and cursing it down. We have enough avowed enemies to do that. We should seek by every means in our power to lift our cause up, and not to damn and condemn it as in days gone by.

BEN TURNER.

#### GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

In accordance with the request of the Executive Committee I attended the Annual Council Meeting of the above Federation which was held at the Foresters' Hall, Dundee, on Thursday and Friday, July 6th and 7th, 1911.

One of the most interesting features was the Fraternal Delegates who were in attendance from Germany and France. Messrs. Paul Umbreit, J. Sassenbach, and Herman Kube represented Germany, and M. Jouhaux the Trade Union movement of France.

Some interesting statements by our continental brothers were made and are worth recalling at this time. Mr. J. Sassenbach, Germany, stated : "In Germany every Trade Union has its own journal ; they had 78 Labour and Socialist dailies, many weeklies, and monthlies." He declared, "the unity of our movement in all matters is certainly due much to the constant education and influence exercised by these papers."

Dealing with International Peace, he said : "The peace of nations will be founded on the good understanding of the working classes of all lands." M. Jouhaux, France, dealing with the same subject, said : "War was the greatest obstacle to progress ; it debased the people, dissipated their resources, and exhausted their manhood. When the

workers dominated the Parliaments of the world war would become impossible. Frontiers would disappear, the land and its products would be the property of all, and the absolute preserve of none." He exhorted all his hearers to live not merely for to-day, but to-morrow, with ideals of a people emancipated, a people free to live their lives in the fullest sense.

Alderman Allan Gee, J.P., President, spoke of the progress made. The membership was at its highest point, 711,994. He gave a very interesting resumé of the work done during the year by the Management Committee.

In extending our fraternal greetings to the Federation delegates, I expressed a hope that the feeling of solidarity which was at work would continue to grow. The great industrial war which was before us requires the spirit of consolidation to be real and sincere, it still goes on; the unrest is deep-rooted, and to be successful in our efforts for the emancipation of the worker we require to close our ranks, and cease fighting each other by sectional strikes. In the name of the Labour Party I wished the Federation every success.

W. C. ROBINSON.

#### PEACE CONGRESS.

I attended, as your representative, the Seventh Annual Congress of the Peace Association, which was held in Edinburgh, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, June 13th, 14th and 15th. I had to leave for home on the Wednesday night on urgent business and therefore was not present at the concluding session, but the two sittings on Tuesday and Wednesday were replete with illustrations of the international character and growth of the principles of reason as opposed to war.

The Dean of Durham presided, and his address on the Wednesday was a fitting prelude to the succeeding discussion.

The representation at the Congress was large and varied—Theologians, Anti-Theologians, Socialists and evidently Anti-Socialists, commingled together to the purpose of their gathering, and whilst no extraordinary event is to be chronicled, yet Congress had three episodes that deserve special mention.

The address by Mr. A. Rowntree, B.A. (York), was of exceptional character, being not merely lofty in tone but full of information and suggestion as to the international features and progress of the passivist movement, and the decision of Congress to print Mr. Rowntree's address may be welcomed by all who desire new and virile ideas on this question.

The second event I desire to mention was the practically unanimous repudiation of the sentiment expressed by the delegate from America, Mr. Marburg, and endorsed by Rev. Findlater (Leith), who in approving of the declarations of Mr. Taft anent the proposed Anglo-American Treaty, declared that (*a*) International treaties must not necessarily cover all nations, but that nations may be refused admission to such understandings if their internal affairs are not approved by the nations to the treaty or from any other cause they do not quite come up to the standard; and that nations to a treaty must be prepared to enforce by force of arms the Arbitration award. These declarations were not merely treated as heresy, but were taken to indicate that the persons promulgating them did not understand the principles governing this great question, hence Congress was very articulate in its dissent. And lastly, though by no means of least importance, was the discussion on Disarmament, and the amendment to same moved by Mr. Keir Hardie

new arrangement provides that four sections will be affiliated to the International, namely, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Fabian Society, and ourselves, and that the votes cast by each, when a division is challenged, shall be 2, 2, 1, and 5, respectively. The income of the Section requires to be £100, and that sum will be apportioned between the affiliated sections in proportion to the votes.

The work of the Section can be made much more efficient than it has been, and we hope in future years to report progress in this respect.

#### WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

We wish to put on record our hearty appreciation of the work of the Women's Labour League, which has been carried on during the last twelve months under very trying circumstances. We have come to an arrangement with the League which will enable it to secure the services of an organiser who will be at our disposal during bye-elections. We are very pleased to observe the publishing activities of the League and the great increase in the number of its Branches. We heartily commend it to the support of our affiliated societies and particularly to Local Labour Parties.

#### MATTERS REMITTED FROM LAST CONFERENCE.

##### EIGHT HOURS' DAY CAMPAIGN.

Plans were made for conducting a campaign on the Eight Hours' Day Movement, but owing to the Autumn Session demanding the attendance of our Members in Parliament, the proposal had to be abandoned until a more favourable opportunity should present itself.

##### ELECTORAL AND TRADE UNION BILLS.

Bills dealing with these subjects have been drafted and presented to the House of Commons, but no opportunity was secured for a Second Reading in any instance.

##### ENTERTAINMENT OF AUSTRALIAN COLLEAGUES.

Arrangements were made during the presence in England of the Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, Labour Premier of the Australian Commonwealth, Mr. J. T. S. McGowan, Labour Premier of New South Wales, and colleagues, to entertain them to a Dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, which should be representative of the whole Labour and Socialist movement. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., presided, and speeches were made by him, Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, Mr. J. T. S. McGowan, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. W. Mullin, J.P., and the Right Hon. Sir George Reid, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner of the Commonwealth resident in London. Advantage was taken of other opportunities of entertaining our Colonial Colleagues at the House of Commons on various occasions. A Special Conference between the Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, was held at the House of Commons on July 13th, when a valuable exchange of ideas was effected. A week later a further Conference with other representatives from over-seas was held. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., presided, and those attending from over-sea were Mr. James T. S. McGowan (New South Wales Premier), Mr. D. Bowman, Mr. W. G. Spence, Mr. Tom Brown, Mr. Alex. Poynton, Mr. W. O. Archibald, Mr. A. Gardiner, Mr. W. H. Laird Smith, Mr. W. H. Story, Mr. W. G. Higgs, Dr. W. Maloney, Mr. J. P.

in favour of the strike as a protest in the event of war being declared. This amendment, which was moved and seconded in two able speeches, the seconder being Mr. G. H. Perris, caught the imagination of the delegates, and would, if pressed to the vote, have been carried, but the plea of many delegates that they had no instruction, but were in favour of same, induced the withdrawal of the amendment, when in all probability Congress next year will test the opinion that the strike weapon used by the workers when war is declared is the greatest preventative of war the people of the country can wield.

On the whole the Congress was very successful, and I believe the Peace movement is a stage further because of its labours.

W. WALKER.

#### CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

At the Guildhall, on February 28th, 1911, the Lord Mayor in the chair.

The attendance was moderate, but evidently influential. Letters and messages of approval were read from the King, the Premier, and Mr. A. J. Balfour.

The main debate was on an amendment moved by Sir Swire Smith, seconded by Mrs. Bridges Adams, and supported by Lord Hugh Cecil, favouring the extension of the present unsystematic system of Continuation Schools, &c.

This was rejected by a large majority, and the resolution of the promoters was carried with practical unanimity :—

“ That this Conference views with grave concern the large number of children annually leaving school without practical training for definite vocations, and

“ Resolves that a national system of industrial, professional and commercial training should be established, to which the children shall pass as a matter of course (unless the parents are prepared to undertake their future training) and without interval, for a definite period, to be thoroughly trained for entry to the particular calling for which they are best fitted, such training to be under fully qualified instructors.

“ That the Government be urged to provide by legislation such a complete system of training, free to all scholars, and the expenses thereof defrayed from the National Exchequer.”

Other resolutions constituting the National Industrial Education League were then adopted. Mr. R. Applegarth and Mr. W. A. Appleton were amongst the Trade Unionists taking part in promoting the new society.

EDW. R. PEASE.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

The most important matter we have to report regarding the International Bureau is that the National Section has agreed that the Secretary of the Labour Party shall be *ex-officio* British Secretary to the International. This will keep the Party in touch with the International Movement in a way which would otherwise be impossible.

We have also agreed to a re-arrangement of fees. Up to now, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Party, two or three separate trade unions, and ourselves, have been affiliated, and have shared the expenses. This turned out to be most unsatisfactory, and the incidence of the fees was unfair. The

to represent the Trade Unions subscribing for shares. During the sittings of this Conference an opportunity will be taken of bringing the representatives of these Unions together so that they may confirm or otherwise these three appointments. When the Company has been floated and we know with more accuracy what Unions will take up shares, an arrangement will be made so that proper time may be given for nomination and better opportunities for election. The appointments, however, have now been made in order to avoid delay, and they must be regarded as temporary only. The three directors whom we have appointed for this purpose are Messrs. J. R. Clynes, M.P., John Hodge, M.P., and W. C. Robinson.

#### RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PARTY FINANCES.

Payment of Members removed the necessity for our Parliamentary Maintenance Fund, and we appointed a Sub-committee to report upon the changes that would be necessary, in consequence, in the finances of the Party. We append their Report, which we have accepted :—

"The expenditure of the Labour Party on Office and General Account for the year 1910 was as follows :—

Charges in General Fund Account ..	£1,987
,,  ,,  Parliamentary Fund Account ..	425
<hr/>	
	£2,412

This is the cost of managing the Party. Expenditure on literature is not included, as sales, on the average, cover the outlay. Nor is the cost of the Annual Conference, which is defrayed by the Delegates' fees, included; nor, of course, the outlay for which the Parliamentary Fund is primarily intended—the payment of maintenance and of 25 per cent. of Returning Officers' Fees."

The Affiliation Fees for the year 1910 at the rate of 15s. per 1,000 members yielded only .. .. .. ..	£1,097
From the Parliamentary Fund, partly in items directly charged to it, and chiefly in the management charge of 5 per cent. was drawn .. .. .. ..	1,107
Sales of Tickets for Demonstrations ..	63
<hr/>	
	£2,267

Profits on literature more than made up the difference. On this, however, we cannot count, and it is clear that we must budget for a minimum of £2,500 a year for regular outgoings on the present basis.

We are still liable for 25 per cent. of the Returning Officers' Fees, and until the law is altered we must make provision for this payment. We spent on this account £3,097 in the General Election of January, 1910, and £2,214 in the December Election. We may now regard four years as the probable average duration of a Parliament, and on the present basis we ought to put aside not more than £2,000 a year to provide for By-elections and to accumulate the necessary sum for a General Election.

Jones, and Mr. James J. Long (all of Australia); and Mr. P. Whiteside and Mr. H. W. Sampson (Union of South Africa). A discussion on matters relating to the Labour Parties in the Dominions and at home, especially regarding the linking up of the respective Parties, took place, Mr. McGowan, Mr. Story, Mr. Whiteside, and others taking part, and the following resolutions were carried :—

1. That a Secretariat be organised with headquarters in each of the Dominions and at home to arrange for an interchange of information in the shape of both confidential information and press correspondence (including cables if necessary) and that the Labour Party be requested to communicate with the Labour Parties in the Dominions and begin such an organisation.
2. That an interchange of visits between Members of the Labour Parties in the Parliament at home and in the Dominions is desirable and should be arranged, and that for that purpose the various Parties concerned be invited to consider :—
  - (a) The election of delegations for this purpose ;
  - (b) The arrangement of hospitality, facilities for travelling, &c. ;
  - (c) The utilization of the delegations for enlightening public opinion and demonstrating the solidarity of the Labour Movements in the Empire by public meetings and otherwise.
3. That a Conference, meeting periodically in places within the Empire, be held, it being understood that the Conference shall not bind the separate Parties but shall be for purposes of discussing and conferring upon Labour questions common to the Empire.
4. That the time and place of next Conference be referred to the Secretariat.
5. That the question of international relationships be referred to the Secretariat.

#### LABOUR NEWSPAPER.

We are pleased to report that the prospect of a daily Labour Newspaper is brighter at the moment than ever it has been before. Early in the year the Independent Labour Party agitated its branches on the subject, and our Newspaper Committee, which had been appointed in the previous year, was summoned, and with four members of the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. formed a Joint Committee to work out details and ascertain what financial backing the project was likely to receive. The Joint Committee had many meetings, published circulars, selected solicitors and counsel, and finally a proper Board of Directors was appointed and a prospectus and memorandum of association are now ready for issue. In the meantime, by correspondence and personal visits, it received most gratifying promises of support.

We are circulating various papers which explain the kind of newspaper which we think the Labour Movement ought to publish, and which also indicate the steps we have taken to secure that its management will be such as to give confidence to the Party. Acting upon counsel's opinion, at our meeting on December 12th, we appointed three directors to represent the Labour Party viz.: Lessrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., A. Henderson, M.P., and E. R. Ease. At the same time we appointed temporarily three directors

But it must be remembered that this payment towards the election expenses is now our only direct contribution from the Party to any candidate, and we think something more should be done to assist local organisations and keep us in touch with them. We therefore propose to assist by grants to local parties which are employing full-time agents. We do not think these grants should exceed 25 per cent. of the Agent's salary, and should be given on condition (1) that we agree to the appointment; and (2) that we are satisfied with the work. As some constituencies where we have Members or candidates have no full-time agents, we also propose that grants of literature, forms, &c., in connection with registration or organisation should be made, or assistance given in any other way approved by the Executive. We propose this because we consider that the Party should look forward to increasing its direct activity in the constituencies and extending its organisation both generally and especially in selected districts. On this basis the sum to be raised annually would be—

Office Expenses .. ..	£2,500
Election Expenses and Organisation ..	2,500
<hr/>	
	£5,000

The present income of the Party raised from its affiliated Societies is as follows :—

Affiliation Fees, 15s. per 1,000 members ..	£1,097
Parliamentary Fund, 2d. per member ..	10,014
<hr/>	
	£11,111

We propose for the future that the sole charge on affiliated Trade Unions and Socialist Societies should be 1d. per member, with a minimum of 10s. for any organisation, and that the fees payable by Trades Councils and local Labour Parties should be unaltered. On the basis of last year (1910) this charge should yield something over the £5,000\* a year which we deem necessary for our work, but owing to the continued enforcement of the Osborne Judgment, we cannot safely reckon on receiving the full amount due from the affiliated societies.

The question has been raised whether we should recommend a refund of payments already made to the Parliamentary Fund in view of the fact that we are asking Members of Parliament to repay us two quarterly payments, and our funds are liable for one quarter only, although the affiliated societies have paid or will pay for the whole year.

A refund to every society of three-quarters of the payment already made would amount to £2,000 at present, and to £7,000 on the whole year. We think such a repayment is an unnecessary complication."

The following Amendments to the Constitution are submitted in order that the above recommendations may be effected :—

#### CLAUSE IV.

Section 1.—The Section as it stands is as follows :—

#### IV.—CANDIDATURES.

1.—*A Candidate must be promoted by an affiliated Society which makes itself responsible for his election expenses.*

## AMENDMENT.

Line 1 : Delete " an affiliated Society " and insert " one or more affiliated Societies."

Line 2 : Delete " makes itself " and insert " make themselves."

New Section :—

4.—“ Twenty-five per cent. of the Returning Officer's net expenses shall be paid in respect of Candidates, but no such payment shall be made to a Candidate of any Society which is in arrears in its contributions to the Party.”

## CLAUSE VIII.

Section 1.—The Section as it stands is as follows :—

## VIII.—AFFILIATION FEES AND DELEGATES.

1.—*Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall pay 15s. per annum for every thousand members or fraction thereof, and may send to the Annual Conference one delegate for each thousand members.*

## AMENDMENT :

Line 1 : Delete " 15s. per annum for every thousand members or fraction thereof " and substitute " 1d. per member per annum, with a minimum of 10s."

## PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

Delete all.

## NEWSPAPER INVESTMENT, &amp;c.

We have considered how best to dispose of the balance of the Parliamentary Fund, and have agreed to recommend as follows :—

(a) That the Party take 6,000 shares of £1 each in " Labour Newspapers, Ltd.", thus disposing of the sum that otherwise would have been spent in maintenance during the nine months since Payment of Members has been in operation.

(b) That the remainder be transferred to the General Fund of the Party.

## ELECTION OF THE SECRETARY TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY.

Upon it being reported to our meeting on February 7th that our Secretary had been unanimously elected Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, we placed on record our appreciation of the decision and offered our congratulations both to the Party and to Mr. MacDonald.

## RESIGNATION OF THE SECRETARY.

The decision of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald not to allow himself again to be nominated to the Secretaryship brings to an end a chapter in the history of the Labour Party. Whilst fully appreciating the motives which have led to this decision, we cannot but regret that he will no longer occupy a post which he has filled with distinguished ability and unqualified success from the beginning of the Party until now. The Labour Party owes to him for long years of devotion to its service a debt which can scarcely be exaggerated.

It is clear that an Executive from which he was excluded would carry on its work at a serious disadvantage, and yet it is undesirable that one who has from the first held office as the representative of the whole Party should in future sit as the delegate and mouthpiece of any particular section.

With a view to obviating this difficulty, the Executive has resolved to recommend a change in the Constitution, and an appointment that is certain to meet the unanimous approval of the Conference. They suggest that the Treasurer of the Party should not in future be chosen by the Executive Committee from amongst its own members, but should be elected annually by the Conference, as the Secretary is, and should be an additional member of the Executive Committee.

For obvious reasons the Executive Committee proposes not only that the new rule should be approved, but also that it be made immediately operative, and that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald be forthwith nominated and elected to the newly created post.

The following Amendments to the Constitution embodying the proposed changes are submitted :—

#### CLAUSE V.

The Clause as it stands is as follows :—

##### V.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

*"The National Executive shall consist of fifteen members, eleven representing the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, Women's Organisations, and Local Labour Parties, and three the Socialist Societies, and shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Conference by their respective sections."*

##### AMENDMENTS :

Line 1 : Alter "fifteen" to "sixteen."

Line 4 : Alter "and" to "who." Add at the end "and the Treasurer, who shall also be elected by the Conference."

#### CLAUSE VI.

The Clause as it stands is as follows :—

##### VI.—DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

*"The National Executive Committee shall*

*1.—Appoint a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer, and shall transact the general business of the Party ;*

*2.—Issue a list of its Candidates from time to time, and recommend them for the support of the electors ;*

*3.—Take all necessary steps to maintain this Constitution .*

*4.—All its members shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party."*

##### AMENDMENT :

Line 2 : Insert the word "and" after the word "Chair man," and delete the words "and Treasurer."

## PERSONAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY.

In response to various requests that have come before us, we appointed a Sub-committee to consider the question of Personal Membership of the Party. The following is the Report of the Sub-committee as amended by the Executive, and is now submitted to the Annual Conference for endorsement :—

“ Provision is at present made which adequately meets the circumstances of all persons who are in an affiliated Trade Union or who are Socialists and disposed to join local Socialist Branches or the National Branches of the I.L.P. or Fabian Society.

Persons whose cases could be covered by individual membership are those not catered for by an affiliated Trade Union or Socialist organisation.

We are of opinion that provision should be made to admit these persons to the Party as associates. They should be admitted on signifying their acceptance of the principles and methods of the Party, and their approval of the terms of membership.

In the case of persons who have been expelled from an affiliated organisation, they should not be admitted through the Central Office without the consent of their former organisation.

We think that an Annual Subscription of at least 5s. would be required, but opportunities should be given for them to subscribe any sum above that amount.

They should, in exchange for this contribution, receive only the literature of the Party, as it is not advisable to make provision for them to exercise collectively the functions of an affiliated Society.

The term “Branch” does not harmonise with the other constituent parts of the Party. We, therefore, think these persons should become Associates, and send their Annual Subscriptions to headquarters.”

In order that the above proposal may be carried into effect, the following amendments to the Constitution are recommended :—

### CLAUSE I.

New Section :—

“ 5.—Persons who agree to accept the Constitution of the Party may become Associates. They shall not be represented at the Annual Conferences, but shall receive all the literature of the Party as issued.”

### CLAUSE VIII.

New Section :—

“ 4.—Associates shall pay to the Central Fund an Annual Subscription of at least 5s.”

## THE INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

The pent-up sense of injustice which has been swelling in the hearts of the workers for some time past broke out into what was called “the Industrial Unrest,” and strike after strike occurred, culminating in the trouble on the railways. We rejoice at this manifestation. The substantial increases in wages and other improvements in labour conditions that followed showed that industry could quite easily bear the demands of Labour, and it is to be regretted that it is still necessary for industrial war to take place before Capital yields to Labour pressure.

The unpleasant feature of the disputes was the drafting of policemen from outside and soldiers into affected areas. This gravely increased the civil disturbance, as in Liverpool and Llanelli, and was actually the cause of the outbreak of rioting, and the killing and wounding of a number of persons in these places, as is abundantly shown by evidence at the coroners' inquests that followed. When the Railway Strike took place the wholesale employment of troops and the issue of reports from the Home Office that were not only prejudiced against the men in their tone but that told untruths regarding what was happening, must have served as warnings to every Trade Unionist as to where the sympathies of the Government and the Home Office lay. The subsequent resolution of the Government to enrol special constables from people opposed to Trade Unions and from classes prejudiced against workmen is an ominous sign for the future, for there can be no doubt that if in times of trade disputes the supporters of the employers receive the badge of authority from the civil power enabling them to create disturbances with immunity and to attack workmen in the course of these disputes, the workmen will be bound to retaliate, and instead of riot and disorder being unusual and regrettable, they will become a common and necessary feature of our industrial life. Unfortunately, owing to the state of Parliamentary business the Party in Parliament could not raise the question of the employment of the military as a straight issue, but we hope that it may yet find a chance of doing so, as a repetition of the action which the Government took last summer would bring upon the country calamities from which we had hoped it had escaped.

#### CONCLUSION.

We end a year which will leave a permanent mark on the history of democratic rule in our country, and next year promises to be equally important. The Government has promised to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and we do not believe there is any doubt but that an amendment will be carried including women within its scope. Registration and Electoral reforms will also have to be made and the power of saying under what laws they are to live will be finally in the hands of the masses of the people. The Labour Party will support the amplest extension of the franchise—Adult Suffrage—and the simplest form of registration in accordance with resolutions passed year after year at our Conferences, and it looks forward with hopeful confidence to the years that are to come.

BEN TURNER, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM WALKER, *Vice-Chairman.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Treasurer.*

W. C. ANDERSON.

J. R. CLYNES.

TOM FOX.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

JOHN HODGE.

H. ORBELL.

A. ONIONS.

E. R. PEASE.

G. H. ROBERTS.

W. C. ROBINSON.

J. J. STEPHENSON.

R. J. WILSON.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Secretary.*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES.

The Executive Committee was called together on nine occasions during 1911, and owing to the sittings sometimes covering two or more days, the total possible attendances were seventeen. The members have attended as follows :—

W. C. Anderson ..	..	..	..	15
J. R. Clynes ..	..	..	..	16
Tom Fox ..	..	..	..	11
J. Keir Hardie ..	..	..	..	12
Arthur Henderson ..	..	..	..	17
John Hodge ..	..	..	..	15
A. Onions ..	..	..	..	9
H. Orbell ..	..	..	..	14
Edw. R. Pease ..	..	..	..	17
J. J. Stephenson ..	..	..	..	14
G. H. Roberts ..	..	..	..	15
W. C. Robinson ..	..	..	..	17
Ben Turner ..	..	..	..	17
W. Walker ..	..	..	..	15
R. J. Wilson ..	..	..	..	12

The Emergency Committee, consisting of Messrs. Turner, Robinson, Pease, and Henderson, have held nine meetings.

# PARLIAMENTARY FUND ACCOUNT.

## RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.
Balance, January 1st, 1911 ... ... ...	8411 3 11	
Subscriptions, January 1st to December 31st, 1911 ... ...	7093 15 10	
Refunds of Returning Officers' Fees ... ...	604 6 0	
Refunds of Loans ... ...	275 0 0	
Refunds of Maintenance ... ...	3900 0 0	
Charges and Donations for services of National Agent ... ...	83 0 0	
Bank Interest on Deposit Account ... ...	129 10 0	
		279 8 8
		0 10 8
Maintenance—		
40 Members at £150 (nine months) ...	... ...	
Transfer to General Fund—		
5 per cent. on Subscriptions, 1910 ...	... ...	
Returning Officers' Fees—		
Newcastle-on-Tyne (additional) ...	... ...	
Mid-Glamorgan ...	... ...	
North-East Lanark ...	... ...	
Kilmarnock ...	... ...	
Keighley ...	... ...	
Oldham ...	... ...	
Bank Charges ...	... ...	
Parliamentary Expenses—		
Assistant's Salary ...	... ...	
Postages, Telegrams, etc. ...	... ...	
National Agent's Account—		
Salary ...	... ...	
Travelling Expenses, etc. ...	... ...	
Honorary ...	... ...	
Subscription to Inter-Parliamentary Bureau	... ...	
Miscellaneous ...	... ...	
		197 9 4
Balance in Bank ...	... ...	
Cash in Hand ...	... ...	
		7 17 6
		7290 15 4
		£13175 10 9
		30 9 8½
		13206 0 5½
		£20,496 15 9½

## GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT.

#### RECEIPTS.

## EXPENDITURE.

## SPECIAL APPEAL FUND.

## AUDITORS' REPORT.

We have pleasure in reporting to the Annual Conference of the Labour Party that the Accounts of the Party have been kept in a satisfactory manner. We have examined each item of income and expenditure, together with vouchers, bank books, and balances, and hereby certify that the accounts as submitted are correct.

WILLIAM MARSLAND, }  
JAMES T. BROWNLIE, } *Auditors.*

## PARLIAMENTARY REPORT, 1911.

The Members of the Parliamentary Party, together with the members of the National Executive, met at the opening of the Session for the purpose of the election of officers and the consideration of the work to be taken in hand during the Session.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald was elected Chairman ; Mr. W. Brace, Vice-Chairman ; Mr. James Parker, Secretary ; Mr. George Roberts, Chief Whip ; and Mr. Charles Duncan, Junior Whip.

### BILLS.

It was decided that precedence be given to the following Bills in the order given for such time as the Party was able to secure :—Trade Union Law Amendment ; Right to Work ; Education (Administrative Provisions) ; Electoral Reform ; Eight-Hours' Day ; Eviction of Workmen during Trade Disputes ; and Railway Nationalisation.

It was announced early in the Session that the Government intended to appropriate all the time allocated to private Members up to Easter, and unfortunately in the ballot for the few remaining days the Party was quite unsuccessful. It introduced, however, its Trade Union, Right to Work, Education (Administrative Provisions), and Representation of the People Bills, but circumstances were adverse, and no progress was made with them. It also introduced under the Ten Minutes' Rule a short Bill legalising the feeding of necessitous school children during the holidays, and the reception it received raised the hope that it would be passed through as an unopposed measure. This was, however, falsified. The opposition to the Bill came only from a few Members, but that was quite sufficient in the congested state of business to block its passage. The Party made several attempts to induce the Government to grant the time necessary for passing the Bill, but without avail.

We have reached the first stage in the remedying of the Osborne injustice, viz. : an unsatisfactory Government Bill which was carried to a Second Reading. The Party supported it on the Second Reading, but made it clear that it would have to be materially amended during its further stages in order to be satisfactory. It will be remembered that a Special Conference on the Bill was held in London, and a resolution was carried recommending the Party not to support the Third Reading unless the Bill was drastically amended. The Government saw that the Party's criticism of its proposals was fatal to them, shirked a Committee stage, but the Premier pledged himself that a Bill would be introduced again.

### MOTIONS.

The Party also selected a list of subjects to be raised by way of Motions if opportunity offered, and the following Motions were moved during the Session.

#### MINIMUM WAGE.

Mr. Will Crooks moved :—

“ That the right of every family in the country to an income sufficient to enable it to maintain its members in decency and comfort should be recognised ; and this House

is therefore of opinion that a general minimum wage of 30s. per week for every adult worker should be established by law, and also declares that the Government should set an example by adopting this standard in its own workshops."

A useful discussion took place, but the Speaker refused the closure and the motion was talked out.

#### POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. F. W. Goldstone moved the following :—

" That this House endorses the unanimous condemnation of the administration of the Poor Law contained in the majority and minority reports of the recent Royal Commission, and is of opinion that the present administration of the Poor Law does not meet modern requirements and demands the immediate attention of His Majesty's Government."

This motion received a good deal of support in speeches from Members of other Parties in the House, but the Government's reply was unsatisfactory and the Party carried the motion to a division. Forty-eight voted for the motion and 107 against, but it is reasonable to suppose that a greater measure of support would have been given had it not been that the motion was moved under circumstances which made it tantamount to a vote of censure on the Government.

#### NAVY ESTIMATES.

Mr. G. H. Roberts moved the following as an Amendment to the introduction of the Navy Estimates :—

" That, in the opinion of this House, the increasing expenditure on the Navy is not justified by foreign events, and is a menace to peace and to national security."

The Party put very strongly the point of view expressed at the Special Conference held in Leicester, and a division was taken. Fifty-four voted for the motion, and 216 against.

#### RIGHT TO WORK.

Mr. O'Grady moved the following as an Amendment to the Address in answer to the King's Speech :—

" But humbly regret that no promise has been made of a Bill establishing the right to work by placing upon the State the responsibility of directly providing employment or maintenance for the genuine unemployed."

This also was taken to a division, when 39 voted for, and 225 against.

#### CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

With regard to the Resolutions passed at the last Annual Conference with which the Parliamentary Party had to deal, the following is a statement of the action taken thereon :—

**ELECTORAL REFORM :** Representation of the People Bill introduced.

**OSBORNE JUDGMENT :** Trade Union Law Amendment Bill re-introduced.

**DISARMAMENT :** Subject raised in debate.

**FEEDING OF CHILDREN :** Amending Bill introduced. According to a reply to a Question put in Parliament, the 1908 Act in its present form could not be made to apply to Ireland because the schools there are not under public control.

**FINES IN TEXTILE TRADES** : Bill introduced.

**MOTOR LEGISLATION** : Bill introduced.

**OFFICES** (Inclusion in Factory Acts) : Bill introduced.

**HOUSE LETTING** (Scotland) : Government Bill passed.

**UNEMPLOYMENT** : Right to Work Bill and Labour Ministry Bill introduced.

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION** : Deputation waited upon Under-Home Secretary, and Inquiry has been promised for as early a date as possible.

**SATURDAY STOP** : Bill introduced.

**GOVERNMENT WORKERS' CONDITIONS** : Questions put.

**FAIR WAGES** : Resolution on Minimum Wage moved, and talked out.

**THE BLIND** : Bill introduced.

#### HESWALL REFORMATORY.

Another subject which came before the House related to allegations regarding the administration of this Reformatory, and as the Party's attitude has been subject to some misrepresentation, it will be as well to make a few comments on the facts.

In the first place it was the present Chairman of the Party who brought the matter to the notice of the Home Office first of all and got the first enquiry made. Afterwards it got into the Press and became the subject of the usual exploitation by sensational journals. When the report appeared a Liberal Member secured leave to move the Adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the matter, and the Party, knowing what was going on and how the matter was being taken up in some quarters, not for the benefit of the boys but for other reasons, decided to hear the case and the Government's reply before committing itself one way or the other. The case was submitted, and the Government in reply, promised to appoint a Committee immediately to enquire into the whole administration of Reformatories and as to how the Home Office—or Education Department—could be brought into closer relation with such administration. The Party was satisfied that this was the best thing that could be done—best for Heswall and best for Reformatories in general. The Member who raised the matter and his supporters also agreed, and he asked leave to withdraw his motion. A handful of the Opposition for purely Party purposes refused leave, and a division had to be taken on the motion. The Party refused to be made use of in this way, and being to a great extent satisfied with the Government's reply, it voted accordingly. The Committee promised has been appointed and is pursuing its labours, the Party being represented on it by Mr. Crooks, and so far as can be seen the Party has nothing to regret for the vote it gave on that occasion. There is every reason to believe that the result of the debate and of the appointment of the Committee will be not only to prevent a repetition of what occurred at the Reformatory in question, but to put the whole Reformatory administration upon a better footing.

#### PARLIAMENT BILL.

This Bill, owing to events already reported to previous Conferences, was the chief business of the early part of the Session, and was pressed through all its stages practically in the same terms as the resolutions carried in the previous Parliament. The Party contented itself with

moving an Amendment to the Preamble of the Bill to leave out words which referred to a Reformed Second Chamber. In moving this Amendment the Party once more put before the House its views with regard to the abolition of the House of Lords, and having done so, it otherwise took the best it could get.

### SHOPS BILL.

This Bill of the Government passed its second Reading and went through Committee. It is a matter for great regret that with the pressure of business no further progress was made until the very close of the Session, and then, in order to get part of it through, the Bill had to be shorn of its most important provisions, such as the limitation of hours. The only provisions that were retained were those for regular meal-times and weekly half-day holidays. The Party felt very strongly about this emasculation of the Bill, and was ready to raise its protest in the House. It had to be borne in mind, however, that a debate of any length would prevent the passage of any part of the Bill, and the Party therefore asked for the opinion of the Shop Assistants' Union. That organisation (which was primarily responsible for the measure) asked the Party not to do anything which would prevent the passage of the Bill as proposed to be cut down, and the Party felt bound to accede to that request. From beginning to end the Party worked in conjunction with the Shop Assistants' Union. It is to be hoped, however, that a strong agitation will result in the re-introduction of the proposal for a limitation of hours in the very near future.

### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

A short Bill to amend the Old Age Pensions Act went through all its stages and is now an Act of Parliament. It removes some of the more serious disqualifications imposed by the original Act, the most important one being the pauper disqualification. It brings nearer a universal system of Old Age Pensions which the Party has always advocated, and which it is to be hoped will ere long be realised.

### COAL MINES BILL.

A Bill to amend the Coal Mines Acts was carried through all its stages and is now an Act of Parliament. There is no doubt that it will be a boon to our mining community and will go a long way to reduce the number of such deplorable mining accidents as have occurred during the last few years. More Mining Inspectors are being appointed, and it is hoped that this will secure more and better supervision on the part of the Home Office.

### RAILWAY DISPUTE.

The history of this matter is known to all, but it will be as well to place on record that the Party moved the following :—

“ That this House regrets that the directors of the railway companies have refused to meet the representatives of the men, in order to discuss the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Railway Conciliation Agreement of 1907, declares such refusal to be contrary to the public interest, and to have no justification, and asks the Government to bring both sides into conference without delay.”

The Government, while deprecating the implied censure on the railway directors, agreed in the main with the terms of the Motion, and eventually the Government moved an Amendment as follows:—

“ That, in the opinion of this House, a meeting should take place between the representatives of the parties on whose behalf the Railway Agreement of August, 1911, was signed, to discuss the best mode of giving effect to the Report of the Royal Commission, and this House asks the Government to use its good offices to bring both sides into conference without delay.”

In order to make it quite certain that the directors when they met the men had to discuss the terms of the Report and consider agreements to them, the Party stuck to its own motion, but was defeated in the division on the Amendment by a combination of the Government and the Opposition, 108 voting with us and 167 against us. The motion as amended was then carried without a division. Whatever may be the view as to the result of the railway strike and the settlement arising out of it, it is safe to say that the Party did its best for the railwaymen.

#### GENERAL LABOUR UNREST.

The Party endeavoured to secure time for a discussion for the following motion, but was unsuccessful:—

“ That this House is of opinion that the results of the Coroner’s Inquests at Liverpool and Llanelli and the facts elicited in other parts of the country show that responsibility for the breaches of the peace in connection with the recent industrial disputes does not rest upon the working classes, and that the use of the military was unnecessary and provocative; and this House regrets the action of His Majesty’s Government in promising the use of the military, thereby encouraging the railway companies in their refusal to recognise the workmen’s trade unions, and in sending troops into various localities in the absence of any requisition from the local authorities concerned; and further declares that civil order depends upon just social relationships and not upon a display of force.”

The use of the military was raised incidentally in one of the discussions in connection with the railway dispute, but the Party hopes to have an opportunity very early next Session to raise the subject more fully.

In this connection it would be as well to state that the Party also tabled a motion condemning Mr. Justice Lawrence for his comments on the Trade Disputes Act at the Glamorgan Assizes. The motion could not be discussed, but the Party thought it advisable to place on record its protest against the biased remarks of judges—remarks which are becoming more frequent and ought to be noticed.

#### PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

In accordance with its pledges the Government carried a motion establishing the Payment of Members. Legislation will be necessary to provide for the payment of Returning Officers’ Fees, and the Party

will press for a fulfilment of the Government's pledge on this point. The Payment of Members will entail greater and closer attention to Parliamentary work, and though division records are not a very accurate or reliable index of that attention, our Members will do well to keep in mind how these records, if bad, can be used against them.

### NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

The measure that took up most of the time of the Session was the Insurance Bill. Unfortunately, the Party on this occasion was not so united as might have been wished, and its influence in getting amendments was lessened in consequence. When a Party ceases to work together, especially on large matters, and a minority declines to accept generally the decision of the whole Party, it is obviously impossible to bring such influence to bear on Governments as will make them yield to our wishes. The same weakness is seen in the country. When two voices speak from our platforms it is impossible to concentrate on any policy which will not only produce desirable amendments in the Bill under discussion, but form public opinion for future legislation.

This raises the very old and somewhat fundamental point as to how far a minority can disregard the decision of a majority and yet remain loyal to colleagues. This Report has never been made the vehicle for an expression of personal and controversial opinion ; but certain conditions which minorities should observe may be stated as the result of this Session's experience.

1. If the majorities are overwhelming a greater responsibility is placed on those Members who disregard them ;
2. If a decision has become the subject of a bargain between the Whips of the Party and the Government regarding how business is to be taken, no minority has any right to act contrary to the arrangement ;
3. The rights of individual freedom can never extend so far as to damage the efficiency of the Party.

It is impossible to catalogue the Amendments to the Bill for which the Party is responsible. Some of our amendments appeared on the paper first of all in the names of other Members, and owing to the fact that the Bill was thoroughly discussed at Conferences between the Party on the one hand and the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade on the other, others appeared as Government amendments. But the amendments which the Party strongly supported and were mainly instrumental in getting passed, included :—

#### PART I.

1. That there should be an improved scale of contributions from the workers in proportion to wages ;
2. That women should be more liberally treated ; and that insured women should on marriage be allowed to keep themselves insured ;
3. That young persons helping to keep families should receive more substantial benefits than were originally provided ;
4. That the amount of wages should not limit the amount of insurance given ;

5. That a date should be inserted when the Post Office depositors should be dealt with by amending legislation ;
6. That medical benefits should be given more freely than was at first provided ;
7. That the time of maximum sickness benefit should be extended—it was extended by thirteen weeks ;
8. That as any illness occurring within twelve months of a previous illness was to be considered as a continuation of the same illness, benefit should be payable from the commencement of the recurring period and not after the lapse of three days.
9. That it should be made clear that Trade Unions might become approved societies and the government and operations of these Unions not interfered with ;
10. That at the end of the qualifying period the person should be entitled to benefit in respect of any sickness which commenced during the qualifying period ;
11. That an unemployed person should not be called upon to pay the employers' contributions in addition to his own. The amendment secured was that the approved society might pay the employers' contributions.

## PART II.

12. That the clause providing that a workman should not be disqualified for receiving benefit on account of his refusal to work where a dispute was in progress, should be strengthened and improved ;
13. That the Clause providing that a workman should not be disqualified for receiving benefit on account of his refusal to work where the wages and conditions were not up to the standard recognised by the Trade Unions concerned, should be made watertight ;
14. That there should be uniform benefits ;
15. That there should be reduced contributions from young workmen.
16. One Clause as it originally stood disqualified all the workmen employed in a factory or workshop from receiving benefit if they were out of work owing to a dispute at that factory or workshop, even although perhaps only a small section of the employees were directly concerned in the dispute. The Party fought hard to get this Clause widened considerably, and it eventually succeeded in securing an amendment that the disqualification should only apply to those workmen engaged in the particular *department* of the factory where the dispute was in progress.

In conclusion, the delegates may rest assured that the Parliamentary position of the Party is as strong as ever it was and its influence remains unimpaired.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,  
*Chairman.*

## NATIONAL AGENT'S ANNUAL REPORT.

I beg to submit for your consideration my fourth annual report. The past twelve months have been unusually busy from the organising point of view. In no previous year have the enquiries for information and requests for assistance been so numerous. There can be no question that in various parts of the country there is a growing feeling which recognises the fact that if the movement is to spread this must be largely accomplished by means of carefully devised and thought-out details of organisation. Much of the success secured at the Municipal Elections in November last may be fairly attributed to this great fact. During the year I have visited the following constituencies :—

Glasgow.	Whitehaven.	Barrow.
Lanark, N.E.	Houghton-le-Spring.	Manchester.
Forest of Dean.	Radstock.	Islington.
Bermondsey.	Kensington, N.	Lambeth, N.
Kilmarnock Burghs.	Keighley.	Oldham.
Rhondda.	Monmouth, South.	Glamorgan, Mid.
Wigan.	St. Helens.	Newton.
Chesterfield.	Rochdale.	Blackburn.
Halifax.	Leeds.	Wolverhampton.

In accordance with instructions I have commenced the work of assisting in the formation of local Labour organisations in each of our mining constituencies. The results would have been considerably more satisfactory had more ready co-operation been forthcoming from quarters where we have a right to expect it. In every case where we have started operations we have found the local spirit fully ripe and invariably ready to support heartily this action on the part of headquarters.

The following constituencies have either already formed or are in process of establishing local organisations :—Normanton, Rhondda, Gower, Glamorgan (Mid. and East), Monmouth (South and West), Manchester (East), Ince, Fife (West), and Chester-le-Street.

In the following constituencies we are awaiting the co-operation of the local mining organisations :—Nuneaton, Derbyshire (N.E.), Chesterfield, Derbyshire (Mid.).

### REGISTRATION.

I am pleased again to be able to report the growing interest in this very important phase of our work, and from all our agents I have received most encouraging reports. In some cases the Revising Barristers have complimented the Party upon the practical assistance our agents have rendered their respective Courts. This is in striking contrast to our experiences of a few years since, when it was almost necessary to fight for our admission into the Courts. It is to be hoped, however, that with the realisation of the recently announced intentions of the Government this work will be considerably simplified, and the name of every adult person will automatically find its way on to the register without trouble. In some of our constituencies we have been affected by the decision of the House of Lords over what is commonly known as the "latchkey" question.

## MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

In no previous years have we recorded such gratifying successes at the polls as we secured in November last. The following are the tabulated returns :—

	1911.	No. of Candidates.	Elected.	Gains.	Lost.	Net Gains.
I.L.P. & Labour	..	312.	142	90	16	74
S.D.P.	..	32	10	3	1	2
Undefined	..	23	5	2	—	3
		367	157	95	17	79
1910	..	330	113	52	19	33
1909	..	555	122	55	32	23
1908	..	397	109	45	78	33*
1907	..	340	86	45	35	10

During the year, in co-operation with Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., I assisted in the drafting of a Bill embodying the principles of a simplified system of franchise and registration, on the lines expressed at our previous Conferences. The Bill was introduced into the House of Commons and has since been circulated in the country and discussed.

I have taken part in the By-elections at N.E. Lanark, Kilmarnock Burghs, Keighley, and Oldham, and in the case of the last three acted as Election Agent. Details of these fights appear in the Report of the National Executive. It may be added, however, that in each instance the Member elected has been returned as the representative of the minority of the constituency.

With the kind co-operation of the office staff I have been enabled to give prompt attention to the growing correspondence of this department, and to the various officers of our respective organisations I am greatly indebted for the assistance invariably accorded me.

ARTHUR PETERS.

List of Affiliated Societies,  
with  
Membership and Payments for 1911,  
Names and Addresses of Secretaries,  
Delegates, &c.

List of Societies affiliated to the Labour Party, Number of Members, and Amounts paid for 1911, with Names and Addresses of Secretaries and of Delegates to the BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE, 1912.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Parliamentary Fund. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Army Ordnance Department Employees' Union, Weedon Assurance Agents, Prudential	.. 90 .. 3662 ..	15 0 .. 3 0 0 ..	15 0 .. 30 10 4 ..	H. Ganderton, Bridge Street, .. Weeton, Northants. D. Jones, 76, Tempest Road, .. Councillor J. E. Curtis, 1, Fairview Cottages, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham. Beeston Hill, Leeds.	— —
Bakers and Confectioners, Operative	5000 ..	3 15 0 ..	41 13 4 ..	J. Jenkins, 16, Paddenswick Road, Ravenscourt Park, Hammersmith, London, W.	H. Keen, 62, Bettenham Road, Edmonton, London, N.
Bakers' Union, London Jewish	160 ..	15 0 ..	1 6 8 ..	I. Sharp, 13, Tenter Street S., Goodmans Fields, London, E.	—
Bakers of Scotland, National Federated Union of Operative	5000 ..	— ..	41 13 4 ..	T. Reid, 7, Belmont Street, .. Aberdeen.	W. G. Hunter, 10, John Street, Bridgton, Glasgow. David Haggart, 3, Howard Street, Paisley.
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	9000 ..	6 15 0 ..	75 0 0 ..	Ald. P. Walls, Exchange Buildings, Moss Bay, Workington.	Thomas Reid, Secretary. P. Walls, Secretary. Councillor L. Carter, 44, Alexandra Street, Ebbw Vale, Mon. W. Evans, 18, Parry Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
Bleachers, Dyers, and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	..	— ..	— ..	J. W. Shephard, 664, Manchester Old Road, Rhodes, Manchester.	—
Block, Roller and Stamp Cutters, Amalgamated Society of	300 ..	15 0 ..	2 10 0 ..	J. Nuttall, J.P., 75, Great Cheetham Street, West Broughton, Manchester.	J. Nuttall, J.P., 75, Great Cheetham Street, West Broughton, Manchester.
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, United Society of	49393 ..	37 10 0 ..	411 12 2 ..	J. Hill, Lifton House, Eston, Tyne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	John Hill, Secretary. J. Campbell, 108, Duncairn Gardens, Belfast.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	7000 ..	5 5 0 ..	58 6 8 ..	J. Kelly, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.	Alfred Short, 38, Francis Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield, A. Kelly, Secretary. A. Cumberland, 45, Edmund Road, Sheffield. A. Dempster, 36, Osborne Street, Glasgow.

E. H. Milton	37,	Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham.
W. H. Quinn	35,	Turkey Lane, Manchester.
George Reid	10,	East Adam Street, Edinburgh.
Councillor A. T. Sutton	15,	Roslin Place, Bradford.
—	—	—
Boot and Shoe Makers, London Amalgamated Society of Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	2000 .. 32943 .. ..	3 0 0 .. 24 15 0 .. 274 10 6 ..
Boot and Shoe Makers, London and Provincial Handsewn Brassfounders, Turners, Fitters, &c., United Journeymen (Man- chester Branch)	400 .. 900 .. ..	15 0 .. 15 0 .. 15 0 ..
Brushmakers, Amalgamated Society of Builders' Labourers, National Association of Butchers' Association, Belfast Journeymen Cab Drivers' Trade Union, London	600 .. 2261 .. .. 190 .. 3000 .. ..	5 0 .. 2 5 0 .. 15 0 .. 15 0 .. 2 5 0 .. 219 ..
Card Setting Machine Tenters' Society Cabinet Makers, Amalgamated Union of Carpenters and Joiners, Amalga- mated Society of	.. .. .. .. .. 2778 .. .. 44790 ..	15 0 .. 2 5 0 .. 33 15 0 .. .. 15 0 .. 23 3 0 .. 3 5 0 .. 373 5 0 ..
K. McCrae, 7, Cartwright Gar- dens, London, W.C. E. L. Poultton, Boot and Shoe .. Trades Hall, St. James Street, Leicester.	.. .. .. ..	John Dickson, 130, Great Titch- field Street, London, W. G. J. Kirkley, 82, Market .. Street, Manchester.
J. Latchford, 17, Napier Road, Kensal Rise, London, N.W. P. Flanagan, 62, Hopwood Street, Hull.	.. .. ..	J. Bearchamp, 169, Park Road, Aston, Birmingham. P. Flanagan, Secretary.
Wm. Whiston, 56, Rolleston Street, Leicester.	..	Wm. Whiston, 56, Rolleston Street, Leicester.
Harvey Allen, 53, Clarence Road, Kentish Town, London, N.W.	..	Harvey Allen, 53, Clarence Road, Kentish Town, London, N.W.
—	—	—
T. Forrest, 227, Two Trees Lane, Denton, near Manchester.	..	..
F. Smith, 43, Empress Road, .. Kensington, Liverpool	..	A. Argyle, 76, Hockley Hill, Bir- mingham.
F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Bruns- wick Street, Manchester.	..	R. Paisley, 13, Todd Street, Bolton. G. Smith, 18, Newton Street (West), Glasgow.
C. Hill, 89, Stockton Road, West Hartlepool.	..	C. Hill, 89, Stockton Road, West Hartlepool.
N. Taylor, 56, Westdale Road, Wavertree, Liverpool.	..	N. Taylor, 56, Westdale Road, Wavertree, Liverpool.
A. G. Cameron, 3, Denbigh Road, Hounslow, London.	..	A. G. Cameron, 3, Denbigh Road, Hounslow, London.
E. H. Jarvis, 109, Greville Road, Southville, Bristol.	..	E. H. Jarvis, 109, Greville Road, Southville, Bristol.
J. P. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Dublin.	..	J. P. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Dublin.

Delegates and Addresses.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Parliamentary Fund. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.
Carpet Weavers, Kidderminster Power Loom	800 ..	15 0 ..	6 13 4 ..	G. Rawkins, Connaught Avenue, Foley Park, Kidderminster
Chatham Royal Dockyard Smiths' Association	103 ..	15 0 ..	17 2 ..	A. E. Drury, 41, Glencoe Road, Chatham.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association..	1406 ..	10 0 ..	11 14 4 ..	Ben Cooper, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, London, E.
Clerks, National Union of ..	3100 ..	3 0 0 ..	25 16 8 ..	Councillor H. H. Elvin, 19 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
Cloggers' Amalgamated Society ..	770 ..	15 0 ..	6 8 4 ..	D. Stott, 2, Worsley Street, Gloverside, Oldham.
of Journeymen Clothiers' Cutters' Trade Union, ..	400 ..	15 0 ..	— ..	A. Brine, 50, Shernall Street, Walthamstow.
London and Provincial Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union of	3796 ..	3 0 0 ..	31 12 8 ..	J. Young, 32, Cobden Place, Leeds.
Clothlookers and Warehousemen, ..	1250 ..	1 10 0 ..	10 8 4 ..	Councillor E. Strong, 26, 1 Court Street, Blackburn.
General Amalgamation of Coachmakers, United Kingdom ..	8000 ..	6 0 0 ..	19 0 0 ..	C. Kinggate, 118, Port Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Society of				
Coal Trimmers and Toppers, Cardiff, Penarth, and Barry	1500 ..	1 10 0 ..	12 10 0 ..	S. Fisher, 39, Mount Street, Square, Cardiff.
Compositors, London Society of .. (per Voluntary Association)	12231 ..	9 15 0 ..	101 18 6 ..	T. Naylor, 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.
Co-operative Employees' Union, .. Amalgamated Union of	30000 ..	22 10 0 ..	250 0 0 ..	Political Secretary : W. Taylor, c/o Co-operative Printing Society, Tudor London, E.C.
				A. Hewitt, Co-operative Buildings, Long Millgate, Manchester.

Coopers, United Society of ..	300 ..	15 0 ..	2 10 0 ..	G. Harrison, 41, Sherwood Road ..
Coopers, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and District ..	150 ..	15 0 ..	1 5 0 ..	J. H. Brookes, 53, Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham ..
Core Makers, Amalgamated ..	1400 ..	1 10 0 ..	11 13 4 ..	E. Clegg, 550, Liverpool Street, .. Waiste, Manchester.
Society of Cricket Ball Makers, Amalgamated ..	171 ..	15 0 ..	1 7 6 ..	F. Boorman, 135, St. Mary's .. Road, Tonbridge.
Society of Dock Labourers, National Union of ..	12000 ..	9 0 0 ..	67 18 8 ..	Councillor J. Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. John Woods, 10, Canning Place, Liverpool.
Dock Labourers, National Union of (1909) ..				Arthur Smith, 17, Mill Street, Liverpool-pool.
Deptford Victualling Yard and ..	264 ..	15 0 ..	2 4 0 ..	Michael Reid, 126, Vauxhall Road, Liverpool.
West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League ..				William Murray, 126, Vauxhall Road, Liverpool.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and ..	12000 ..	9 0 0 ..	100 0 0 ..	Francis Kilkelly, 111, Derby Road, Bootle, Lancs. —
General Workers' Union ..				
Deptford, Victoria Dock Naval Store Workers' Protection League ..	264 ..	15 0 ..	2 4 0 ..	J. G. King, 300, Evelyn Street, .. Deptford, London, S.E.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and ..	12000 ..	9 0 0 ..	100 0 0 ..	Ben Tillett, Secretary .. Harry Orbell, 425, Mile End Road, .. London, E.
General Workers' Union ..				G. Barnfield, <sup>1</sup> , Morton Terrace, Sharpness, Gloucester.
Elastic Weavers, Leicester and ..	300 ..	15 0 ..	2 10 0 ..	J. H. Garrison, 75, South Parade, Anally Road, Hull.
District Electrical Trades Union ..	3000 ..	2 5 0 ..	—	W. Reeves, 17, Brook Street, Barry Dock, Glam.
Engineering and Stores (Postal Telegraphs) Association ..	2000 ..	1 10 0 ..	16 13 4 ..	W. Reeves, 17, Brook Street, Barry Dock, Glam.
Engineers and Firemen's Union, ..	1000 ..	15 0 ..	8 6 8 ..	W. Hinds, 15, George Street, Neath, Glam.
Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels Engineers, Whitesmiths and General Ironworkers, National Union of Operative Heating and Domestic	1068 ..	15 0 ..	1 3 9 ..	G. Shipway, 44, Mayfield Road, Port Talbot. —
Elastic Weavers, Leicester and ..	300 ..	15 0 ..	2 10 0 ..	J. Hordern, 29, Queen Street, .. Leicester.
District Electrical Trades Union ..	3000 ..	2 5 0 ..	—	J. Rowan, 26, Cannon Street, .. Manchester.
Engineering and Stores (Postal Telegraphs) Association ..	2000 ..	1 10 0 ..	16 13 4 ..	Geo. Young, 15, Church Walk, .. Northwich, Cheshire.
Engineers and Firemen's Union, ..	1000 ..	15 0 ..	8 6 8 ..	J. Collins, 8, Ribi Square, .. Grimsby.
Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels Engineers, Whitesmiths and General Ironworkers, National Union of Operative Heating and Domestic	1068 ..	15 0 ..	1 3 9 ..	R. Sewell, 38, Queen's Road, .. Aston, Birmingham.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation	Parliamentary Fund.	Parliamentary Fund.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of	92000	..143 5 0 ..	766 13 4 ..	Jenkin Jones, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.	James Butts, 41, Ansdell Road, Peckham, London, S.E.	Jenkin Jones, Secretary.
					J. J. Stephenson, 3, Crofton Park Road, London, S.E.	
					Thomas Husband, 76, Elderpark St., Govan, Glasgow.	
					John E. Sunners, 45, Ennismore Road, Stanley, Liverpool.	
					James Smith, 30, Walker New Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	
					James Berill, 66, Carruthers Street, Ancoats, Manchester.	
					J. M. Booth, 14, Trentham Place, Dewsbury Road, Leeds.	
					H. J. Collier, 1, Eddington Avenue, Llanishen St., Cardiff	
					Tom Rees, 74, Heavitree Road, Plumstead, London S.E.	
					George N. Barnes, M.P., 2, Alderbrook Road, Balham, London, S.W.	
					Robt. Dennis, 18, Parliament St., Stockton-on-Tees.	
Engineers and Cranemen, &c., of National Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Firemen's Union, Bolton	6000 ..	4 10 0 ..	—	—	J. Baker, 18, Parliament Street, ..	
Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, Hydraulic and Boiler Attendants	96 ..	15 0 ..	16 0 ..	E. Stewart, 75, Woodgate Street ..	C. Kean, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford.	
Engravers to Calico Printers and Paper Stainers' Trade Union	600 ..	15 0 ..	5 0 ..	Bolton. Councillor Geo. Grisley, 203, ..	H. Lockwood, 32, Ivesgate, ..	
Factory Workers, Yeadon, Guiseley and District	1100 ..	1 10 0 ..	15 8 0 ..	Barking Road, Canning Town, London, E.	Yeadon, Yorks.	
Farriers, Amalgamated Society of ..	120 ..	15 0 ..	1 0 ..	W. H. Briggs, 70, St. James Road, Higher Broughton, Manchester.	—	
French Polishers, London Society ..	1848 ..	1 10 0 ..	9 3 4 ..	London, W.C.	—	
of United Flax-dressers' Trade and Benevolent Trade Union (Irish)	1000 ..	15 0 ..	8 6 8 ..	E. Rudd, 37, Grays Inn Road, ..	T. Cecil, 257, Glyn Road, Clapton Park, London, N.E.	
Furnishing Trades Association, ..	910 ..	15 0 ..	7 11 8 ..	W. Rooney, Engineers' Hall, Belfast.	—	
National Amalgamated	7500 ..	6 0 0 ..	10 0 ..	A. Gossip, 72, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.	J. O'Grady, M.P., 35, Broxash Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.	

Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c.,	..	4231	..	3 15 0 ..	35 5 2 ..	H. Simpson, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	F. Moredy, 29, Trevor Street Nечells, Birmingham.
Amalgamated Society of						J. W. Bettridge, "Melville," Swindon Road, Cheltenham.	J. W. Bettridge, "Melville," Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
Gaworkers and General Labourers, National Union of	37241	..	28 10 0 ..	310 6 10 ..	Alderman Will Thorne, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, London, N.	Councillor J. Gregory, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	Councillor J. Gregory, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
					Will Thorne, M.P., Secretary. J. R. Clynes, M.P., 174, Union Street, Oldham.	Councillor H. Simpson, Secretary.	Councillor H. Simpson, Secretary.
Gilders' Society, Amalgamated	..	100	..	15 0 ..	16 8 ..	W. A. Stratton, "The Crown," 64, Cleveland Street, London, W.	J. E. Smith, Trades Hall, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.
Glass Bottlemakers of Yorkshire, United Trade Protection Society	2217	..	2 5 0 ..	18 9 6 ..	A Greenwood, 2, Wesley Street, Castleford.	W. Victor Morgan, 6, Gladstone Buildings, Alexandra Road, Swansea.	W. Victor Morgan, 6, Gladstone Buildings, Alexandra Road, Swansea.
Government Labourers' Union (Chatham)	200	..	15 0 ..	1 13 4 ..	A. F. Gilliard, 13, Frederick Street, Chatham.	Councillor T. Pounder, 322, Nottingham Road, Ilkeston.	Councillor T. Pounder, 322, Nottingham Road, Ilkeston.
Government Stores Clerical Association	70	..	15 0 ..	11 8 ..	C. Garney, 183, High Street, Plumstead.	J. Firth, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	J. Firth, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
Grinders and Glaziers' Society, Amalgamated Machine, Engine, and Iron	700	..	15 0 ..	5 16 8 ..	J. Asquith, 14, Nelson Street, Rochdale.	—	—
Hairdressers' Federation, Northern Counties	1000	..	15 0 ..	8 6 8 ..	J. Podmore, 8, Rylands Street, Warrington.	—	—
Hairdressers' Federation, South Wales and Monmouthshire	200	..	15 0 ..	1 13 4 ..	L. M. Francis, Barber's Shop, Penydarren, Merthyr Tydfil.	—	—
Hatters, Amalgamated Society of	3949	..	3 0 0 ..	32 18 2 ..	T. Mallalieu, 93, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.	Councillor T. Mallalieu, Secretary.	Councillor T. Mallalieu, Secretary.
Journeymen					T. Mann, 155, Heaton Street, Denton, Manchester.	—	—
Hatters' Fair Trade Union, Journeymen	342	..	15 0 ..	3 2 9 ..	J. Bolton, 57, Barcroft Road, Newsome, Huddersfield.	—	—
Healders' and Twisters' Trade and Friendly Society, Huddersfield	240	..	15 0 ..	2 0 0 ..	H. Bassford, 15, Midland Road, H. Bassford, Secretary.	—	—
Hosiery Union, Ilkeston and District	650	..	15 0 ..	5 8 4 ..	H. Bassford, Secretary.	Heanor	Heanor

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Parliamentary Fund.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Hosiery Union, Leicester..	1000 ..	15 o ..	8 6 8 ..	G. Bailey, Exchange Buildings, .. Rutland Street, Leicester.	Henry Lewis, 119, Wolverton Road, Leicester.
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of .. (Voluntary Fund)	17836 ..	13 10 0 ..	148 12 8 ..	W. M. Lawson, 164, Chorlton Road, Brook's Bar, Manchester.	A. Henderson, M.P., "Teesdale"; Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park London, S.W.
Ironmoulders' Association, Central	5003 ..	4 10 0 ..	41 13 10 ..	H. Murdoch, 42, New Market Street, Falkirk.	A. Todd, 7, Chatburn Street, Blackburn.
Ironmoulders of Scotland, Associated	..	— ..	— ..	J. M. Jack, 221, West George Street, Glasgow.	Wm. M. Lawson, Secretary.
Kew Gardens Employees' Union, Royal	120 ..	15 o ..	1 0 0 ..	J. C. Wallace, 253, Sandycombe Road, Richmond, Surrey.	Councillor W. Muirhead, 1, Alma Terrace, Falkirk.
Labour Amalgamation, British	1000 ..	15 o ..	8 6 8 ..	T. Fox, 12, Dover Street, Upper ..	Archibald Logan, 42, Newmarket Street, Falkirk.
Labour Protection League (No. 14 Branch)	434 ..	15 o ..	3 12 4 ..	F. R. Jackson, 61, Burrage ..	Arthur Tear, 55, Union Road, Cameron, Falkirk.
Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated	4000 ..	3 0 0 ..	33 6 8 ..	R. Road, Plumstead.	J. N. Bell, J.P., Secretary.
Labour, National Amalgamated .. Union of.	21730 ..	16 10 0 ..	181 1 8 ..	J. Twomey, 1, St. David's Place, Ruthland Street, Swansea.	R. Barnes, 20, Cooper Street, ..
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	2430 ..	2 5 0 ..	20 5 0 ..	C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, .. Mount Street, Nottingham.	C. Wardle, Secretary.
Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers, and Process Workers	— ..	— ..	— ..	W. Bignal, 35, Alvina Street, Ilkleton.	W. Bignal, 35, Alvina Street, Ilkleton.
Lithographic Printers, London ..	36 ..	15 o ..	6 0 ..	G. Douglas, 22, Bride Lane, ..	—
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated Society of	4400 ..	3 15 0 ..	36 13 4 ..	London, E.C.	—
				Secretary, Campfield Chambers, .. 312, Deansgate, Manchester.	W. Carter, 3, Osborne Road, Birmingham.
				T. Sproat, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.	—

Machine Workers' Association, United	..	5643 ..	5 0 0 ..	47 0 6 ..	M. Arrandale, J.P., 48, Ply- mouth Grove, Manchester.	Wm. Short, 10, Kinburn Street, Hartlepool.
Male Relief Stampers' Trade Society	50 ..	15 0 ..	8 4 ..	W.G. Cannon, 76, Central Park .. Road, Upton Park, London,	M. Arrandale, Secretary. —	41
Mathematical Instrument Makers ..	348 ..	15 0 ..	2 18 0 ..	W. Sims, 123, Hemingford Road, Barnsbury, London, N. T. Ashton, J.P., 925, Ashton .. Old Road, Manchester.	J. Hewitt, 48 Landor Road, Clapham Road, London, S.W. T. Ashton, J.P., Secretary. E. Edwards, M.P., Miners' Hall, Burslem.	
Miners' Federation of Great Britain	.. 600000	.. 161 5 0 ..	1789 3 4 ..	R. Hon. W. Abraham, M.P., Llan- wit Major, Cardiff. R. Smillie, J.P., Larkhall, Scotland. T. Greenall, J.P., Bootlestown, Man- chester.	Hugh Hughes, Miners' Office, Wrex- ham, North Wales. Ben Davies, Miners' Office, Penre- tine, Glam.	
				J. Winstone, J.P., Manor Road, Abersychan, Mon. J. Williams, Merthyr, South Wales. R. Brown, J.P., Dalkeith, Scotland. H. Gallacher, Hamilton, Scotland. G. Warne, Medway Street, Hirst, Ashington, Northumberland. W. Buckley, Myrtle Villa, Court Street, Woodville, Burton-on-Trent. W. Brace, M.P., Newport, Mon. A. Onions, J.P., Tredegar, Mon. E. Morell, J.P., Troedyra, Merthyr Tydfil.	D. Watts Morgan, Caernarv, Porth, Glam. W. Vyce, J.P., Ebbw Vale, South Wales. F. Ross, 21, Windsor Street, Caer- philly, Glam. G. Barker, Miners' Office. Abertillery. J. Mutter, Miners' Office, Abertillery. J. Williams, Miners' Office, Aber- tillery.	

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Parliamentary Fund £ s. d.	Secretary and Address,
Miners' Federation of Great Britain (continued)				

- W. E. Morgan, Manselton Road, Swansea.  
 T. Lucas, Nythfa, Ogmore Vale, Glam.  
 T. Jenkins, 11, Broad Street, Dowlais.  
 David Morgan, Avelyfryn, Ammanford, S. Wales.  
 D. Gilmour, Hamilton, Scotland.  
 J. Tonner, Cambuslang, Scotland.  
 J. Robertson, Hamilton, Scotland.  
 P. McKenna, Airdrie, Scotland.  
 R. Small, Harthill, Lanarkshire.  
 Duncan Graham, Stanley Cottage, Hamilton, Lanarkshire.  
 W. Higgins, Blantyre, Lanarkshire.  
 W. Aird, Coalburn, Lanarkshire.  
 J. Kyle, Hamilton, Scotland.  
 T. Marshall, Carlisle, Scotland.  
 H. Murrin, J.P., Stirling, Scotland.  
 D. Weir, Shieldhill, Falkirk.  
 Tom Cape, 12, Jubilee Terrace, Maryport, Cumberland.  
 John Scott, Jackson Street, Seaton, Workington, Cumberland.  
 W. Burgess, 17, Colclough Lane, Goldenhill, Tunstall, Staffs.  
 S. Finney, Miners' Office, Burslem.  
 H. Purcell, Miners' Office, Burslem.  
 F. J. Dean, Miners' Office, Walsall.  
 J. G. Hancock, M.P., Miners' Office, New Bastard, Notts.  
 L. Spencer, Miners' Office, New Basford, Notts.  
 J. Ackers, Miners' Office, New Basford, Notts.  
 John Lack, Hucknall Torkard, Notts.  
 J. H. Hankin, Underwood, Notts.  
 Walter Kew, Heanor, Notts.  
 W. H. Freeman, Miners' Office, New Basford, Notts.  
 J. Haslam, M.P., Miners' Office, Chesterfield.

*Delegates and Addresses.*

- F. Hall, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.  
 B. Kenyon, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.  
 T. Davis, Pretoria Villa, Stonebroom, Derbyshire.  
 E. Sutton, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.  
 H. Trueman, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.  
 A. Hancock, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.  
 W. Straker, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 W. Lock, 30, Cullercoats Street, Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 F. Burton, Grassmere Avenue, Newburn-on-Tyne.  
 W. Davey, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 S. H. Whitehouse, Radstock, Bath.  
 W. Nash, Radstock, Bath.  
 W. Stephens, J.P., 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.  
 J. McGurk, 13, Phoenix Street, Bury, Lancs.  
 T. Glover, J.P., 108, Prescot Road, St. Helens.  
 J. Parkinson, J.P., Wigan  
 Stephen Walsh, M.P., 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.  
 J. F. Suttor, M.P., 79, North Road, Clayton, Manchester.  
 J. Bradley, 126, Market Street, Stoneclough, Manchester.  
 Lee Shaw, 20, Duke Street, Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington.  
 Richard Watt, 8, Prospect Place, Farnworth, Bolton.  
 John Cheetham, J.P., 541, Rose Hill Pemberton, Wigan.  
 W. Angus, 48, Argyle Street, Newtown, Wigan.  
 W. Greenfield, 19, Bridges Street, Atherton, Lanes.  
 Fred Hall, M.P., Miners' Office, Barnsley.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain  
(Continued)

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Parliamentary Fund. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain	1820 ..	1 10 0 ..	15 3 4 ..	J. Dixon, Miners' Office, Barnsley.
				J. Murray, Miners' Office, Barnsley.
				W. Rylett, Miners' Office, Barnsley.
				H. Shaw, 61, Sutherland Mount, Leeds.
				J. Haigh, Carr Green, Staincross, Yorks.
				B. Stocks, 25, Wellhead Road, Leeds.
				J. McGrath, 7, Roundell Street, Atter- cliffe, Sheffield.
				W. House, J.P., Miners' Office, Durham.
				T. H. Cann, Miners' Office, Durham.
				R. Richardson, Miners' Office, Dur- ham.
				J. Robson, Miners' Office, Durham.
				W. Peelcross, Miners' Office, Durham.
				E. Stoker, Miners' Office, Durham.
				T. Hughes, Miners' Office, Durham.
				W. Adamson, M.P., Miners' Office, Dunfermline.
				W. M. Watson, Cowdenbeath, Fife.
				P. Lyon, 66, Fairfield, Dunfermline.
				J. Croskin, Pottery Street, Kircaldy.
				J. Brown, Annbank, Ayrshire.
				J. MacCullum, Annbank, Ayrshire.
				T. McKerrell, 22, Craigie Road, Riccarton, Kilmarnock.
				R. McNaughton, 146, Mains Road, Kilconning.
				Colin Allan, Polton Street, Bonnyrigg, Midlothian.
				R. McKinnon, Wallyford, Mussel- burgh, Midlothian.
				T. Gavan Duffy, Alva House, ..
				Moor Row, Cumberland.
				S. Howard, Secretary.
Miners, Cumberland Iron Ore	..	..	..	J. Gavan Duffy, Secretary.
Moulders' Union, Amalgamated	987 ..	15 0 ..	8 4 6 ..	J. McCusker, Old Hall, Cleator, Cumberland.
Painters' Society, Scottish	2950 ..	2 5 0 ..	24 11 8 ..	—
Paper Mill Workers, National	731 ..	15 0 ..	6 1 10 ..	Wm. Ross, 84, Bristol Street, ..
Union of				Wm. Ross, Secretary, Manchester.

Paper Makers, Amalgamated Society of Paper Stainers' Union of General..	1028 ..	15 0 ..	8 11 4 ..	W. Dyson, 7, Station Road, ..	W. Dyson, Secretary.
Workers Pattern Makers' Association, United	240 ..	15 0 ..	2 0 o ..	Robert Marshall, 22, Starkie Street, Darwen.	Robert Marshall, Secretary.
Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association	10000 ..	7 10 0 ..	83 6 8 ..	J. Pointer, M.P., 84, Stafford Road, Eccles, Lancs.	J. Pointer, M.P., 84, Stafford Road, Eccles, Lancs.
Postmen's Federation	..	—	—	W. Mosses, Rutland Road, ..	W. Mosses, Secretary.
Plasterers, National Association ..	6600 ..	5 5 0 ..	55 0 o ..	E. R. Tuck, 8, Pearl Assurance ..	W. J. Ash, 193, Kingston Road, Ilford.
of Operative Plumbers' Society, London ..	30 ..	15 0 ..	5 0 ..	G. H. Stuart, Parliament Man- sions, Victoria Street, London	A. F. Johnson, 25, Bagshot Road, Bush Hill Park, Enfield.
Pottery Workers', National Amal- gamated Society of Male and Female	5800 ..	4 10 0 ..	48 6 8 ..	T. Otley, 37, Albert Street, ..	G. H. Stuart, Secretary.
Power Loom Tuners' Mutual Im- provement Association, Hudders- field	159 ..	15 0 ..	1 6 6 ..	M'nington Crescent, N.W.	T. Lane, 62, Darncombe Street, Man- chester.
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers ..	90 ..	15 0 ..	15 0 ..	J. Groves, 75, Elgin Avenue, ..	—
Preventive Men's Association (Customs and Excise)	600 ..	15 0 ..	5 0 ..	J. Paddington.	—
Quarrymen's Association, Cum- berland Limestone A.S.R.S., per Parliamentary Representation Association	200 ..	15 0 ..	1 13 4 ..	J. Lovatt, Pottery Workers' ..	—
Railway Workers' Union, General ..	10328 ..	8 5 0 ..	86 0 o ..	Office, Hill Street, Hanley, Staffs.	—
Railway Clerks' Association	17000 ..	12 15 0 ..	141 13 4 ..	R. Gledhill, 6, Barton Road, ..	—
Royal Army Clothing Department..	240 ..	15 0 ..	2 0 o ..	G. Butler, 19, Claverton ..	—
Employees' Union Scientific Instruments Makers ..	1100 ..	15 0 ..	—	Street, Pimlico, London, S.W.	Street, Pimlico, London, S.W.
				J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross ..	Harry Luckhurst, 1, Water Lane, Brixton, London, S.W.
				Street, London, E.C.,	George Ridley, Fleet, Holbeach, Lincs.

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Parliamentary Fund. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.	Delegates and Addresses.
Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers, . . . . . National Amalgamated	6500 .....	5 5 0 ..	54 3 4 ..	J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham .. . C. Smith, 64, Dalton Street, Wolverhampton, London, S.W.	
Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association	20110 .....	15 15 0 ..	167 11 8 ..	Councillor Alex. Wilkie, J.P., .. M.P., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	J. C. Gordon, Secretary. Councillor A. Wilkie, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Shuttlemakers, Amalgamated Society of Silver and Electro-plate Finishers .. . . . .	362 .....	15 0 ..	3 0 4 ..	D. Isherwood, Nile Cottage, .. Greaves Street, Blackburn.	J. H. Jenkins, J.P., 101, Romilly Road, Cardiff.
Sheffield and Electro-plate Operatives, Birmingham, Hammermen, Cardiff .. . . . .	130 .....	15 0 ..	1 1 8 ..	O. A. Binney, 21, Slate Street, .. Heeley, Sheffield.	M. Jenkins, 95, James Street, Gillingham, Kent.
Spindle and Flyer Makers .. . . . .	420 .....	15 0 ..	3 10 0 ..	T. Hands, 97, Newhall Street, .. Birmingham.	F. Purdy, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Steam Engine Makers' Society .. . . . .	260 .....	15 0 ..	2 3 4 ..	W. Rawlins, 34, Zinc Street, .. Roath, Cardiff.	
Steel Smelters, Mill and Tinplate .. . . . . Workers' Association	16500 .....	12 15 0 ..	137 10 0 ..	C. H. Whitehead, 124, Domestic.. . Street, Holbeck, Leeds, .. W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, 17, Thomas Street, Manchester.	J. Hodge, M.P., Secretary. Jas. Appleton, 26, Chandos Street, Earlestown.
Stevedores' Labour Protection League, Amalgamated	4077 .....	3 15 0 ..	33 19 6 ..	J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, .. West India Dock Road, London, E.	J. T. Macpherson, Stirling House, Billington Avenue, Norton-on-Tees.
Stove Grate Workers, National Union of Street Masons, &c., Liverpool .. . . . . Tailors, Amalgamated Society of ..	1200 .....	1 10 0 ..	10 0 0 ..	A. Hutchison, Effingham St., .. Rotherham.	J. Anderson, Secretary. Joseph Wood, 4, Brookmill Road, Deptford, London, S.E.
	830 .....	15 0 ..	6 18 4 ..	Geo. Fearnley, 14, Carmen Street, Ardwick, Manchester.	J. O'Brien, "Rising Sun," High Street, Poplar, London, E.
	11974 .....	0 0 ..	99 15 8 ..	T. A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Street, .. Manchester.	T. A. Flynn, Secretary. Michael Byrne, 303, Somerville Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham.

Table and Butchers' Knife Hatters'	300	..	15	0	..	2 10 0	..	W. Crofts, 84, Mitchell Street, ..	W. Crofts, Secretary.
Trade Society								Sheffield.	
Textile Factory Workers' Association, United	145908	..	111	15	0	..	-	J. Cross, J.P., Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.	
Textile Workers' Association, ..								Walter Gee, 144, George Street, Hyde.	
Amalgamated Association of								Thomas Settle, 2, Church Street, Lees.	
Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers, ..		-	..	-	..	-		J. Billington, J.P., Spinner's Institute, Church Street, Preston.	
Amalgamated Association of								T. W. Hudson, 25, Caistor Street, Stockport.	
Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers' ..		-	..	-	..	-		W. C. Robinson, J.P., 12, Benfield Street, Heywood.	
Association, Preston								A. H. Cottam, J.P., Weavers' Office, Clitheroe.	
Bleachers and Dyers		..	-	..	-	-		W. Nabb, Textile Hall, Bury.	
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of		-	..	-	..	-		W. A. Duckworth, Weavers' Office, Princes Street, Blackburn.	
Cardroom Operatives, Accrington ..		-	..	-	..	-		S. Lovell, Weavers' Office, 5, Burt's Top, Barnoldswick.	
Cardroom Operatives' Association, ..		-	..	-	..	-		John Riley, 43, Wells Street, Haslingden.	
District								John Pilkington, 60, Livesey Street, Rishton.	
Bleachers and Dyers		..	-	..	-	-		R. Swarbrick, Secretary.	
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of		-	..	-	..	-		Robt. Swarbrick, 172, St. Paul's Road, Preston.	
Cardroom Operatives, Accrington ..		-	..	-	..	-		A. Smalley, 19, Wood Street, ..	
Cardroom Operatives' Association, ..		-	..	-	..	-		Bolton	
Bolton								Wm. Mullin, J.P., 2A, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	
Cardroom Operatives, Accrington ..		-	..	-	..	-		James Crinion, J.P., 108, Union Street, Oldham.	
Cardroom Operatives' Association, ..		-	..	-	..	-		Joseph Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	
Bolton								Anthony Eidsforth, Post Office Chambers, Accrington.	
Cardroom Operatives, Accrington ..		-	..	-	..	-		Tom Lewis, 6, Railway Terrace, Middleton Junction, Lancs.	
Cardroom Operatives' Association, ..		-	..	-	..	-		J. Clayton, Cardroom Offices, Ashton, under-Lyne.	
Bolton								Robert Kay, Post Office Chambers Accrington.	

Delegates and Addresses.

No. of Members	Affiliation Fee	Parliamentary Fund	Secretary and Address.
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Name of Society.	Members.	Loc.	f s. d.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Heywood	— .. — ..	Wm. Schofield, Heywood.	.. Wm. Schofield, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room Association, Oldham Provincial	— .. — ..	M. Connolly, 108, Union Street, Oldham.	Robt. Whitehead, 6, Bottomworth Moor, Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Operators Association, S.E. Lancashire	— .. — ..	J. E. Tattersall, J.P., "Carill Avenue, Moston, Manchester.	Jams Kirwin, 36, Same Street, Ancoats, Manchester.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	— .. — ..	W. H. Carr, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	W. H. Carr, J.P., Secretary.
Spinners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton	— .. — ..	J. E. Tattersall, J.P., "Blevere," Carill Avenue, Moston, Manchester.	J. E. Tattersall, Secretary.
Spinners, Bolton Operative	— .. — ..	Wm. Marsland, 3, Blossom Street, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester.	Wm. Schofield, Trades Hall, Heywood.
Spinners' Provincial Association, Oldham Operative Cotton	— .. — ..	A. H. Gill, M.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	.. W. H. Carr, J.P., Secretary.
			.. W. Hilton, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
			.. J. D. Hoyle, 33, Thomas Street, Lees, near Oldham.
			Wm. Booth, 15, Ash Street, Middleton.

Weavers' Amalgamated Association	..	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.	J. Cross, J.P., Secretary. J. W. Ogden, J.P., Grosvenor Street, Heywood.
	..	Wm. Ward, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street, Nelson.	Wm. Ward, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street, Nelson.
	..	J. Bell, Weavers' Office, Bartham Place, Oldham.	J. Bell, Weavers' Office, Bartham Place, Oldham.
	..	R. Haslam, Weavers' Office, Victoria Street, Darwen.	R. Haslam, Weavers' Office, Victoria Street, Darwen.
	..	J. E. Gartside, Weavers' Office, Green Lane, Delph, near Oldham.	J. E. Gartside, Weavers' Office, Green Lane, Delph, near Oldham.
	..	W. Mercer, Weavers' Office, 8, Police Street, Great Harwood, near Blackburn.	W. Mercer, Weavers' Office, 8, Police Street, Great Harwood, near Blackburn.
	..	J. Threlfall, Weavers' Office, 1, Albert Street, Clayton-le-Moors, near Accrington.	J. Threlfall, Weavers' Office, 1, Albert Street, Clayton-le-Moors, near Accrington.
Weavers' Association, Ashton-under-Lyne	..	..	Albert Leeming, 8, Melbourne Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Weavers' Association, Bacup	..	..	Tom Smith, 29, Newton Street, Salybridge.
Weavers' Protection Society, Blackburn	..	..	David Heyworth, 12, Rochdale Road, Bacup.
Weavers and Winders, Bolton	..	..	W. A. Duckworth, 1 and 3, Princes Street, Blackburn.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Blackburn and District Powerloom	..	..	Cephas Speak, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Weavers' Association, Burnley	..	..	Ernest Holden, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.
	..	..	Levi Pickering, 13, Infirmary Street, Blackburn.
	..	..	Thomas Hartley, 77, Daisy Street, Blackburn.
	..	..	Christopher Grogan, 53, Hazel Street, Blackburn.
	..	..	Albert Lomax, Weavers' Office, Burnley.
	..	..	William Glenn, Weavers' Office, Burnley.
	..	..	Josiah Leeming, Weavers' Office, Burnley.
	..	..	N. Clegg, Weavers' Office, Burnley.

<i>Name of Society.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>Parliamentary Fund.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>	<i>Delegates and Addresses.</i>
<i>No. of Members.</i>	<i>f. s. d.</i>	<i>f. s. d.</i>		
Weavers' Association, Bury, Radcliffe and District	— ..	— ..	.. Councillor Wm. Nabb, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.	Wm. Howard, 9, Peers Street, Etton, Bury.
Weavers' Association, Chorley and District	— ..	— ..	.. John Wilson, 1, Clifford Street, Chorley.	John Wilson, Secretary.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Clitheroe	— ..	— ..	.. A. H. Cottam, Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.	Robert Holders, Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.
Weavers, Colne and District	— ..	— ..	.. T. Shaw, J.P., Weavers' Office, Colne.	Thomas Shaw, Secretary.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Darwen	— ..	— ..	.. J. Parkington, 21 and 23, Victoria Street, Darwen.	Walter Bray, Weavers' Office, Colne. T. Parkington, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Great Harwood	— ..	— ..	.. W. Hesmondhalgh, 8, Street, Great Harwood.	T. Cockshot, 21 and 23, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Weavers' Society, Heywood	— ..	— ..	.. John W. Ogden, J.P., Weavers' Office, Trades Hall, Darwen.	Wm. Watson, 3, Pym Street, Heywood.
Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Association, Hyde and Hadfield	— ..	— ..	.. Councillor Wm. Pope, J.P., 27, George Street, Hyde.	John Axon, 3, Henry Street, Haughton Green, Denton.
Weavers' Association, Nelson and District	— ..	— ..	.. Wm. Ward, Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street, Nelson.	James D. Shackleton, Weavers' Institute, Nelson.
Weavers, Winders, &c., Oldham	— ..	— ..	.. Jas. Bell, Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.	Charles Tate, Weavers' Institute, Nelson.
Weavers, Winders, and Beamers' Association, Padilham and District	— ..	— ..	.. D. Russell, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padilham.	T. Hargreaves, 37, Percival Street, Oldham.
Weavers' Association, Rishton	— ..	— ..	.. F. H. Greenhalgh, 6, Cliff Street, Rishton, near Blackburn.	Jas. Ingham, Weavers' Institute, Padilham. Jas. Hewitt, 75, Spring Street, Rishton.
Theatrical Employees, National Association	300 ..	15 0 ..	2 10 0 ..	W. Johnson, 1, Broad Court .. W. Johnson, Secretary.
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association	2500 ..	2 5 0 ..	20 16 8 ..	Chambers, Bow Street, London, W.C. Councillor I. H. Gwynne, 6, Bellevue Street, Swansea. Edward Edwards, 3, Manor Street, Port Talbot.

Toolmakers, Society of Amalgamated	..	6052	..	5 5 0 ..	50 8 8 ..	W F. Beston, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.	W. F. Beston, Secretary.
A.J. Pearce, 14, Wills Street, Lozells, Birmingham.	—						A.J. Pearce, 14, Wills Street, Lozells, Birmingham.
Turners, Machinists, and Athletic ..	120	..	15 0 ..	1 0 0 ..	J. J. Norris, 13, Lessada Street, .. Roman Road, Victoria Park, London, N.E.	J. J. Norris, 13, Lessada Street, .. Roman Road, Victoria Park, London, N.E.	
Twisters, Yorkshire ..	..	400	..	15 0 ..	3 6 8 ..	J. Craven, 147, Rochester Street, .. Bradford Moor, Bradford.	J. Craven, 147, Rochester Street, .. Bradford Moor, Bradford.
Typographical Association ..	..	21566	..	16 10 0 ..	179 14 4 ..	H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel .. Street, Salford.	H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel .. Street, Salford.
A. E. Wood, 100, Knighton Road, Plymouth.	—					A. E. Wood, 100, Knighton Road, Plymouth.	A. E. Wood, 100, Knighton Road, Plymouth.
G. H. Roberts, J.P., M.P., 42, White-hall Road, Norwich.	—					G. H. Roberts, J.P., M.P., 42, White-hall Road, Norwich.	G. H. Roberts, J.P., M.P., 42, White-hall Road, Norwich.
J. J. Atkins, 189, Somerville Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	—					J. J. Atkins, 189, Somerville Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	J. J. Atkins, 189, Somerville Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.
H. Skinner, Secretary.	—					H. Skinner, Secretary.	H. Skinner, Secretary.
Typographical Association, Scottish ..	—	..	—	..	—	..	—
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union ..	1500	..	1 10 0 ..	12 10 0 ..	J. White, 50, Wellington Street, .. Glasgow.	J. White, 50, Wellington Street, .. Glasgow.	
of Upholsterers' Trimming Makers' ..	120	..	15 0 ..	1 0 0 ..	L. Leckie, 28, Lady Somerset .. L. Leckie, Secretary.	L. Leckie, 28, Lady Somerset .. L. Leckie, Secretary.	
Union Warp Dressers, Lancashire and ..	3212	..	3 0 0 ..	26 15 4 ..	J. H. Morgan, 11, Hillery Road, .. Walworth, London, S.E.	J. H. Morgan, 11, Hillery Road, .. Walworth, London, S.E.	
Yorkshire Association of Weavers, Associated Trimming ..	240	..	15 0 ..	2 0 0 ..	J. White, 2A, New Brown .. Street, Nelson, Lancs.	J. White, 2A, New Brown .. Street, Nelson, Lancs.	
Weavers and Textile Workers, ..	5347	..	4 10 0 ..	44 11 2 ..	W. Bromfield, Co-operative .. Building, Field Street, Leek.	W. Bromfield, Co-operative .. Building, Field Street, Leek.	
General Union of Wheelwrights and Smiths' Society	1765	..	1 10 0 ..	14 14 2 ..	Alderman Allen Gee, J.P., 12, .. Quarry Road, Longwood, Huddersfield.	Alderman Allen Gee, J.P., 12, .. Quarry Road, Longwood, Huddersfield.	
Willyers and Fettlers' Union, Leeds	210	..	15 0 ..	1 15 0 ..	J. Lamb, 11, Tempest Street, .. Ardwick, Manchester.	J. Lamb, 11, Tempest Street, .. Ardwick, Manchester.	
Wood Turners, Amalgamated ..	260	..	15 0 ..	2 3 4 ..	T. Greenwood, 765, Burnley .. Road, Cornholme, Todmorden.	T. Greenwood, 765, Burnley .. Road, Cornholme, Todmorden.	
Society of Wood Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of Woolcombers' Association, Bradford and District ..	1068	..	1 10 0 ..	—	W. J. Wentworth, 33, Ply-mouth Grove, Manchester.	W. J. Wentworth, 33, Ply-mouth Grove, Manchester.	
Woodsorters, National Union of ..	1860	..	1 10 0 ..	15 10 0 ..	W. H. Bramley, 1, Wilton .. Street, Bradford.	W. H. Bramley, 1, Wilton .. Street, Bradford.	
Wool Top and Noil Warehousemen	800	..	15 0 ..	6 13 4 ..	T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton .. Lane, Bradford.	T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton .. Lane, Bradford.	
	240	..	15 0 ..	2 0 0 ..	Sam Parker, 20 and 22, Barry .. Street, Bradford.	Sam Parker, 20 and 22, Barry .. Street, Bradford.	

Name of Society.	No. of Members.	Affiliation Fee.	Parliamentary Fund.	Secretary and Address.
Woolwich Workers' Union	..	400 ..	£ 5. d. 15 0 ..	£ 5. d. 3 6 8 .. Ald. T. Macnamara, 42, Wil-
Workers' Union	..	6000 ..	4 10 0 ..	mount Street, Woolwich.
				Charles Duncan, M.P., 16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
				A. Dalglish, 24, South Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.
				J. W. Clark, 27, Court Street, Woodville, Burton-on-Trent.
				J. Harris, 25, Meadowbank Street, Belfast.
<b>Socialist Societies.</b>				
Fabian Society ..	..	3404 ..	3 0 0 ..	Ed. R. Pease, 3, Clements Inn, .. Strand, London, W.C.
Independent Labour Party	..	28000 ..	21 0 0 ..	Dr. Ethel Bentham, 74, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London, W.
				Miss M. Murby, 87, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W.
				W. Stephen Sanders, 3, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.
				Clifford D. Sharp, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.
				Wm. C. Anderson, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.
				J. Bruce Glasier, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.
				Miss Mary Macarthur, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.
				F. W. Jowett, M.P., 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford.
				Rev. W. E. Moll, St. Philip's Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
				Ben Riley, 32, Springdale Avenue, Huddersfield.
				Councillor J. W. Kneeshaw, 3, Park Grove, Wordsworth Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.
				W. Holmes, 128, Churchill Road, Norwich.
				Rev. Geoffrey A. Ramsay, The Vicarage, Writhlington, Radstock.
				R. C. Wallhead, 21, East Avenue, Garden Village, Levenshulme, Manchester.

- J. H. Standing, J.P., 30, Blackfriars Street, Manchester.
- H. E. Witard, 75, St. George's Street, Norwich.
- James Myles, 1, Briscoe Buildings, Brixton, London, S.W.
- Councillor A. J. Thatcher, 37, Cambrian Street, Griffithstown, Mon. J. Arnott, 24, Hawksworth Grove, Kirkstall, Leeds.
- T. D. Benson, 8, York Street, Manchester.
- W. Flynn, 4, Grasmere Street, Gateshead.
- J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Lochnorn, Cumnock, Scotland.
- J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.,<sup>3</sup> Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
- J. Parker, M.P., 22, Salisbury Place, Halifax.
- T. Richardson, M.P.,<sup>38</sup> Co-operative Terrace, New Washington, Co. Durham.
- P. Snowden, M.P., "Elberton," Woodstock Road, Golders Green. Geo. D. Hardie, 93, Hope Street, Glasgow.
- Councillor J. Bennett, 20, Vincent Street, Derby.
- W. H. Jacob, 3, Sea View Terrace, Lipson, Plymouth.
- Francis Johnson, Secretary.

### Co-operative Society.

Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society	911 ..	15 o ..	7 11 10 ..	H. Richards, 7, Kensington ..
—	—	—	—	Street, Tunbridge Wells.

### Women's Organisation.

Women's Labour League	..	1 10 o ..	—	The Secretary, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
Society	—	—	—	Mrs. Bruce Glasier, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.

Dr. Marion Phillips,<sup>3</sup> Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

## Trades Councils.

### *Delegates and Addresses.*

### *Secretary and Address.*

<i>Name of Council.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>f s. d.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Abertillery Trades Council	..	15 0	J. H. Williams, 13, Granville Street, Abertillery, Mon. . . Frank Hodges, 9, Blyth Street, Abertillery. —
Barnsley Trades Council	..	15 0	A. D. Masterton, 71, Bridge Street, Barnsley. ..
Birkenhead Trades Council	..	1 10 0	W. Egan, 39, Dacre Street, Birkenhead. ..
Blackburn Trades Council	..	1 10 0	J. Frankland, J.P., 22, Leopold Road, Blackburn. .. M. Brothers, 33, Markham Street, Blackburn. —
Blackpool Trades Council	..	15 0	E. Ford, 13, Charles Street, Blackpool. ..
Burnley Trades Council	..	15 0	R. B. Watson, 57, March Street, Burnley. ..
Belfast Trades Council	..	1 10 0	J. Murphy, 333, Woodstock Road, Belfast. .. D. R. Campbell, 11, Kimberley Street, Belfast. —
Burton-on-Trent Trades Council	..	15 0	L. Jones, 43, South Oak Street, Burton-on-Trent. .. Councillor M. Conway, 177, Gladstone Street, Bradford.
Bradford Trades Council	..	1 10 0	W. Barber, Trades Hall, Bradford. .. Councillor J. H. Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford. —
Carlisle Trades Council	..	15 0	T. Winder, 14, Grey Street, Carlisle. ..
Chatham Trades Council	..	15 0	P. W. Terry, 65, Beaconsfield Road, Chatham. ..
Chester United Trades Council	..	15 0	Councillor W. Carr, J.P., 42, Filkins Lane, Chester. ..
Coalville and District Trades Council	..	15 0	W. Hancock, Berrisford Street, Coalville. .. A. Lockwood, Baughan Street, Coalville. —
Connah's Quay Trades Council	..	15 0	W. Hooley, 4, North Terrace, Sandycroft, near Chester. ..
Darlington Trades Council	..	15 0	T. Bradley, 55, Marshall Street, Darlington. ..
Darwen Trades Council	..	3 0 0	S. Hamer, 1, Essex Street, Darwen. ..
Derby Trades Council	..	1 10 0	Councillor J. Bennett, 6, Vincent Road, Derby. .. H. Sharpe, 2, West Mount, Old Nor- manton, Derby. —
Enfield Trades Council	..	15 0	W. C. Mussett, Silver Street, Enfield, N. . .
Exeter Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	M. Connell, 4, Abbott's Road, Priory Estate, Exeter. ..
Farnworth Trades Council	..	15 0	W. Wardle, 23, Wellington Street, Farnworth, S.O. ..
Glasgow Trades Council	..	1 10 0	Councillor G. Carson, 156, George Street (City), Glasgow. .. Councillor A. R. Turner, 86, George Street, Glasgow. —
Glossop and Hadfield Trades Council	..	15 0	W. H. Burdekin, 27, Dinting Vale, Glossop. ..
Gorton Trades Council	..	1 10 0	Councillor T. Higginson, 46, Elysian Street, Openshaw, .. Manchester. —
Grantham Trades Council	..	15 0	F. Flatt, 53, Edward Street, Grantham. ..
Great Harwood Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	I. Dickenson, 23, Lomas Street, Great Harwood, Lancs. .. I. Dickenson, Secretary. —
Greenock Trades Council	..	15 0	R. Lemmon, 19, Brymer Street, Greenock. ..
Grimsby Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	G. McDonald, 269, Conramore Road, Grimsby. ..
Guildford Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	P. G. Mortimer, Radcliffe Cottage, Cheseleden, Road, .. Guildford, Surrey. —

Hackney Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. Parker, 15, Adley Street, Clapton, N.E.	..	W. Parker, Secretary.
Huddersfield Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. S. Armitage, 7, Lidgett Street, Lindley, Huddersfield.	..	Councillor T. Topping, 121, Cowcliffe Hill, Huddersfield.
Halifax Federated Trades and Labour Council	..	1 10 0	..	W. H. Dean, 9, Sunnybank Terrace, Halifax.	..	—
Hampstead Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. R. Wardrop, 7, Campden Buildings, Hampstead, N.W.	..	A. Pearce, 14, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
Hastings Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. W. Jones, 381, London Road, St. Leonard's, Sussex.	..	—
Hebden Bridge Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. H. Farrar, 14, Albert Street, Mytholmroyd, Yorks.	..	—
Felwood Trades Council	..	15 0	..	S. J. Bardsley, 31, Pleasant Road, Heywood, Lancs.	..	—
F. Hill and District Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	T. Deyes, 39, Massey Street, Hull.	..	A. Gould, 1, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull.
H. de Denton and District Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	E. Lewis, 70, Bennett Street, Newton, Hyde.	..	—
Ilford Trades Council	..	15 0	..	H. L. Crofts, 35, Albert Road, Ilford.	..	—
Keighley Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. Dawson, 9, Cromer Avenue, Keighley.	..	—
Kettering Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. Taylor, 50, Broadway, Kettering.	..	—
Kidderminster Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. Walters, 17, Albert Road, Kidderminster.	..	—
Lancaster Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. W. Shaw, Trades Hall, Lancaster.	..	—
Leeds Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	Owen Connellan, 6, Carlton Mount, Dorrington Road, Leeds.	..	O. Connellan, Secretary.
Leith United Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. Grant, Labour Hall, 1, Smith's Place, Leith.	..	—
London Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	J. Macdonald, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.	..	Fred Knee, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.
Lincoln Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. C. Spence, 49, Cranwell Street, Lincoln.	..	—
Llanelli Trades Council	..	15 0	..	G. H. Stacey, 27, Tunnel Road, Llanelli.	..	G. H. Stacey, Secretary.
Luton Trades Council	..	15 0	..	W. J. Taylor, 66, Cardigan Street, Luton, Beds.	..	H. Lee, 148, Dalton Road, Luton.
Manchester and Salford Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	W. Mellor, 3, Clarence Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester.	..	Councillor T. Fox, 12, Dover Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock.
Marylebone Trades Council	..	15 0	..	G. T. Wilgoss, 46, Bell Street, Edgware Road, W.	..	Councillor George Titt, 44, Rowsley Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.
Mexborough Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	J. Clayton, 72, Bank Street, Mexborough.	..	—
Methyr, Dowlais and District Trades and Labour Council	..	1 10 0	..	A. J. Sainsbury, Fairview Terrace, Methyr.	..	—
Neath and District Trades Council	..	15 0	..	J. Jones, 9, Edward Street, Mount Pleasant, Neath.	..	James Walton, 101, Sandymount Avenue, Wath-on-Dearne, Rotherham.
Newport Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	F. H. Heath, 39, London Street, Maindee, Newport, Mon.	..	—
Newcastle and Gateshead Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	T. Wilkinson, 7, Elswick East Terrace, Newcastle-on Tyne.	..	T. Wilkinson, Secretary.
Norwich Trades Council	..	15 0	..	G. F. Hipperson, 91, Connaught Road, Norwich.	..	Councillor W. R. Smith, J.P., 41 Denmark Road, Norwich.
Oldham Trades Council	..	1 10 0	..	J. R. Clynes, M.P., 174, Union Street, Oldham.	..	Councillor S. Frith, 60, Beever Street, Oldham.
				E. Bottomley, 37, Walter Scott Street, Oldham.		

*Name of Council.**Affiliation Fee.**Delegates and Addresses.*

<i>Name of Council.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Padiham Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Ingham, Weavers' Institute, Padiham.
Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport Trades Council	..	15 0	A. H. Orchard, 99, Glendower Road, Plymouth.
Paisley Trades Council	..	15 0	Alexander Hair, 11, Cochran Street, Paisley.
Peterborough Trades Council	..	15 0	H. Young, 12, Woodland Terrace, Wood Street, Peterborough.
Portsmouth Trades Council	..	1 10 0	G. W. Porter, 97, Toronto Road, Buckland, Portsmouth.
Preston Trades Council	..	15 0	W. Marshall, 50, Brixton Road, Preston.
Radcliffe Trades Council	..	15 0	G. Knights, 29, Milltown Street, Radcliffe.
Rugby United Trades and Labour Council	..	15 0	J. W. Hodgetts, 87, Cambridge Street, Rugby.
Southampton Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Laing, 7, Forster Road, Southampton.
St. Helens Trades Council	..	1 10 0	J. Francis, 125, Speakman Road, St. Helens.
Scaunthorpe Trades Council	..	15 0	C. Walsham, 209, High Street, Scunthorpe.
Sheffield Trades Council	..	1 10 0	J. Rothnie, 132, Broomspring Road, Sheffield.
Shrewsbury Trades Council	..	15 0	W. H. Edwards, 34, St. Julian's Friars, Shrewsbury.
Stalybridge Trades Council	..	15 0	S. Bailey, 5, High Street, Stalybridge.
Stockport Trades Council	..	1 10 0	H. Spares, 28, Lark Hill Road, Stockport.
Southport Trades Council	..	15 0	J. Hopwood, 3, Hawes Side Street, Southport.
Southwark Trades Council	..	15 0	G. B. Kimberley, 15, Lebanon Street, Walworth.
Spen Valley Trades Council	..	15 0	A. Stott, Melbourne Street, Union Road, Heckmondwike, Yorks.
Stafford Trades Council	..	15 0	J. R. Morris, 32, Izaak Walton Street, Stafford.
North Staffordshire Trades Council	..	1 10 0	Thomas Thornton, 14, King Street, Burslem, Staffs.
Swadlincote Trades Council	..	15 0	H. T. Forman, 87, St. James Street, Swadlincote.
Sunderland Trades Council	..	1 10 0	S. F. Clarkson, 14, Glenthorne Road, Sunderland.
Warrington Trades Council	..	15 0	E. Phinstone, 194, Wilderspool Causeway, Warrington.
Wolverhampton Trades Council	..	15 0	Harry Bagley, 83, Burleigh Road, Wolverhampton.
Woolwich Trades Council	..	15 0	Councillor W. Barefoot, 3, New Road, Woolwich, S.E. .. N. Blight, 3, Dawson Street, Plumstead, London, S.E. ..
Workington Trades Council	..	15 0	D. Thompson, 44, Queen Street, Workington,

## Local Labour Parties.

Name of Organisation	Affiliation Fee. £ s. d.	Secretary and Address.
Aberdeen Labour Party	..	F. M. Cowan, Cairnaquhae Cottages, Mid Stocket ..
Barnard Castle L.P.A.	..	15 0 .. F. M. Cowan, Cairnaquhae Cottages, Mid Stocket ..
Bath and District L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. T. W. Dowson, 27, Grey Street, Crook, R.S.O., Co. Durham.
Barrow Labour Party and Trades Council	1 10 0 ..	A. E. Crofts, Westland House, Southdown, Bath. .. Councillor E. P. Wake, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness. Councillor J. H. Brown, 1, Back Salthouse Road, Barrow.
Battersea Labour Party	..	15 0 .. T. Pocock, 49, Odger Street, Battersea, London, S.W. ..
Bermondsey L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. B. Olivier, Labour Institute, Fort Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.
Birmingham L.R.C.	..	1 10 0 .. C. E. Innes, 117, Colmore Row, Birmingham. T. Fathers, 32, Blackford Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.
Bethnal Green Labour Party	..	15 0 .. C. M. Lloyd, 29, Evesham Houses, Bethnal Green, E. ..
Bolton Labour Party	..	1 10 0 .. Frank Knights, 66, Ainsworth Lane, Bolton. C. M. Lloyd, Secretary.
Bootle L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. C. Anders, 14, Walton Road, Liverpool.
Brighton L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. G. Beard, 68, Hanover Terrace, Brighton.
Bristol L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. F. Freeman, 19, Westminster Road, Whitehall, Bristol. F. Freeman, Secretary.
Cambridge Labour Party	..	15 0 .. F. J. E. Pullen, 1, Roseneath Histon Road, Cambridge. R. Clifford Allen, 28, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
Camlachie L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. W. Williamson, 5, Tollcross Road, Parkhead, Glasgow. ..
Cardiff Labour Party	..	1 10 0 .. H. Hiles, 28, Glaston Street, Cardiff.
Chorley L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. H. Sergeant, 12, Woodville Road, Chorley, Lancs.
Cheltenham L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. H. E. Durham, 39, All Saints' Terrace, Cheltenham.
Croydon L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. A. Jenner, 24, Cuthbert Road, Croydon.
Clitheroe L.R.A.	..	1 10 0 .. T. McCall, 33, Belgrave Street, Nelson, Lancs. ..
Coventry L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. W. M. Adamson, 52, Humber Avenue, Coventry.
Crewe Labour Party	..	15 0 .. W. F. Davis, 60, Stewart Street, Crewe.
Deptford Labour Association	..	15 0 .. J. W. Reid, 435, New Cross Road, London, S.E.
Dundee L.R.C.	..	1 10 0 .. G. R. Shepherd, 48, Murraygate, Dundee. G. R. Shepherd, Secretary.
Dumbartonshire Labour Party Ealing, Acton and Chiswick L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. H. Sykes, Clarence Street, Clydebank. ..
East Ham L.R.C.	..	15 0 .. F. G. Arney, 11, Willcott Road, Acton Hill, W.
East Northants Labour Party	..	15 0 .. J. J. Pope, 133, Shakespeare Crescent, Manor Park, E. ..
Edinburgh Labour Party	..	1 10 0 .. H. Thomson, 17, Higham Road, Rushden. ..
	..	T. Milne, 19, Cumberland Street, Edinburgh, ..

## Delegates and Addresses.

*Name of Organisation.**Secretary and Address.**Delegates and Addresses.**Affiliation Fee.*

58

<i>Name of Organisation.</i>	<i>Affiliation Fee.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Secretary and Address.</i>
Eccles L.R.C.	..	D. B. Evans, 2, Mount Pleasant, Trafford Road, Barton, .. J. Hallsworth, Dunheved Villas, Addison Road, Urmston, near Manchester.
Glamorgan (East) Labour Party	15 0	J. C. Probert, 11, James Street, Gateshead. E. Morgan, 28, Gyfeillion Road, Trehaft, Glam.
Hammersmith L.R.C.	..	W. H. Harding, 61, Ifley Road, Hammersmith, W. H. Palmer, 14, George Street, Hyde, Cheshire.
Hyde L.R.C.	15 0	A. J. Ellis, 96, Illex Road, Willesden, London, N.W.
Harrow Labour Party	15 0	J. Hannett, Rockingham Street, Birdwell, Barnsley.
Holmfirth L.R.C.	15 0	T. G. Fowler, 38, Hemingford Rd., Islington, London, N...
Islington L.R.C.	15 0	E. R. Newbery, 41, Upper Wellington Street, Long Eaton.
Ilkeston Labour Party	15 0	R. S. Robson, 341, Warrington Road, Abram, Lancs. V. Smith, Labour Institute, Orchard Street, Ipswich.
Ince Labour Party	10 0	J. McQueeny, 8, Hamblett Street, Leigh, Lancs.
Ipswich L.R.C.	15 0	Robert Newton, Craddock Lane, Boothstown, Tyldesley.
Leigh Labour Party	10 0	..
Lambeth L.R.C.	15 0	H. Urié, 15, Crescent Grove, Clapham, S.W.
Liverpool L.R.C.	10 0	A. W. Short, 8, Brook Road, Bootle, Liverpool.
Leicester Labour Party	10 0	G. H. Kirk, 226, Loughborough Road, Leicester.
Mid-Derbyshire L.R.C.	10 0	F. Burton, Cemetery Road, Leabrooks, near Alfreton.
Montrose L.R.C.	15 0	A. Peffers, 6, Osnaburgh Street, Forfar.
Mid-Glamorgan Labour Party	10 0	D. J. Thomas, 4, Blandy Terrace, Ogmore Vale, Glam.
North-West Durham L.R.C.	15 0	H. Bainbridge, 11, Shafto Terrace, Stanley, S.O., Co. Durham.
Nelson Labour Party	10 0	J. A. Greenwood, 33, Eagle Street, Nelson, Lancs.
Newton Labour Party	10 0	W. Forshaw, 93, Hardshaw Street, St. Helens.
Nottingham Labour Party	15 0	G. O. Richards, 48, Westwood Road, Sneinton, Notts.
Otley L.R.C.	15 0	Councillor W. D. Gladwin, 1, Greenshaw Terrace, Guiseley, via Leeds.
Poplar L.R.C.	15 0	Councillor J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow, London, E.
Rochdale Labour Party	15 0	J. W. Moor, 94, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale.
Rhondda Labour Party	15 0	J. Rees, 36, Brook Street, Williamstown, Rhondda.
Rossendale Labour Council	15 0	Wm. James Singleton, 161, Manchester Road, Haslingden, Manchester.
Smethwick L.R.C.	15 0	A. M. Williets, 30, Duuford Road, Smethwick, Birmingham.
		George Wilkinson, 120, Rosefield Road, Smethwick.

Sowerby L.R.C.	..	15 o	..	H. F. Andrews, East View, Hebden Bridge.
Stockton-on-Tees and Thornaby L.R.C.	..	15 o	..	C. F. Barclay, 14, Rosebery View, Thornaby-on-Tees. ..
Swansea L.R.A.	..	1 10 o	..	T. L. Jenkins, 44, Brunswick Street, Swansea. ..
Swindon L.R.C.	..	15 o	..	C. R. Palmer, 11, Church Walk, Rodborne Cheney, ..
Wansbeck L.R.C.	..	15 o	..	G. H. Warne, 63, Medway Street, Hirst, Northumberland. ..
Westhoughton Labour Association ..	15 o	..	..	W. Greenhalgh, 53, Tomlinson Street, Horwich, near .. W. T. Wilson, M.P., 98, Mornington Road, Bolton.
Whitehaven L.R.C.	..	15 o	..	Councillor W. Atack, 19, Arrowthwaite, Whitehaven. ..
Wigan L.R.C.	..	1 10 o	..	Councillor J. Cavey, 66, Widderington Road, Monument .. F. Rees, M.B., 11, Upper Diccon Park, Wigan, ..
Worcestershire (East) Labour Party	15 o	..	A. J. Broughall, 145, Mary Vale Road, Bourneville, ..	Jas. Cavey, Secretary. ..
York Labour Party	..	15 o	..	J. N. Mercer, 8, Scarcroft Road, York. ..
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### Fraternal Delegates.

German Social Democratic Party	—	..	V. Müller, Lindenstrasse, 69, Berlin, S.W.	.. Herr Hermann Molkenbuhr, Member of Reichstag, Berlin.
Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee	—	..	C. W. Bowerman, M.P., General Buildings, Aldwych, .. W. Thorne, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, London, N.	.. London, W.C.
General Federation of Trade Unions	—	..	W. A. Appleton, 8, Adelphi Terrace, Adam Street, .. W. A. Appleton, Secretary.	London, W.C.

# REPORT OF CONFERENCE.

The Twelfth Annual Conference of the Labour Party was opened in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Wednesday, January 24th, 1912, at 11 a.m., the number of delegates attending being 473, representing 155 organisations.

## WEDNESDAY'S SITTING.

MR. W. C. ROBINSON temporarily took the Chair.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., moved—

*That Councillor Ben Turner be the President of the Conference.*

MR. JOHN HODGE, M.P., seconded.

MR. TURNER was thereupon unanimously elected to the Chair, and he thanked the delegates for having placed him in such a high and responsible position.

## WELCOME TO BIRMINGHAM.

MR. FRED HUGHES (Birmingham L.R.C.) said that he was deputed by the local Labour Party to bid the delegates welcome to Birmingham. When the vote was taken at Leicester as to the place for the present Conference the remark was made that in coming to Birmingham the delegates would be coming to the enemy's stronghold. The local Labour Party, however, hoped to convince them that even in the enemy's stronghold the Party was not without friends. It was true that the City had put on rather a gloomy and chilling aspect at their advent but the local Party was not responsible for the physical conditions. It had not been quite unsuccessful in dispelling some of the mental fog and slush that had afflicted Birmingham in recent years, and there were evidences that even Birmingham was now a fit place for a Labour Conference to meet in. Last November a number of Labour men were returned to the City Council, and in one Parliamentary division, where at the General Election two years ago the Party had had somewhat of a set-back, Labour candidates headed the poll in every Ward with majorities substantial enough to put the intention of the electors beyond the shadow of a doubt. He hoped that the Conference would not only revive and strengthen the national Movement but would particularly help the local movement, and that Birmingham would appreciate the compliment the Party had paid to it in a practical way by doing something at no distant time to add to the representation of Labour

at St. Stephen's. He extended to the delegates a hearty welcome to Birmingham.

MR. J. KESTERTON (Birmingham Trades Council) said he had great pleasure in seconding the welcome that Mr. Hughes had offered to the delegates. In common with the whole of the local Trade Unionists his Council was delighted when, twelve months ago, the Conference decided to come to Birmingham. They realised that there were few places more appropriate for such an assemblage than the City in which they lived. Mr. Hughes had told the delegates that recently the local movement had made some slight progress in the onward march of the great Party of which they were all proud to be members. A beginning had been made in Labour Representation on the City Council and there were now six Labour members. It was hoped to follow very shortly with a beginning in Parliamentary representation. There had also been recently rather a large addition of working men to the Magisterial Bench. It was quite true that those who had been recognised as the local leaders of the Labour Party had been rather flouted by being left out. For all that, however, they were progressing in Birmingham. They were glad of the great success of the Labour Party. They were working untiringly for its success and they would be glad when they could send a Member to Parliament to assist the Party in the House. They rejoiced that the Movement was a world-wide Movement and that Germany had given a great lead which, it was to be hoped, would be followed in due course in this country. The welcome to the delegates on the part of the Trades Council and the Trade Unionists of Birmingham was whole-hearted. They trusted that the deliberations of the Conference would be epoch making and that the prosperity of the Party and the redemption of the people would be forwarded by the efforts of the Conference.

## ELECTION OF TELLERS.

The nominations and voting were as follows:—

### ELECTED.

W. Gee ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) .. .	176
J. Murray ( <i>Miners</i> ) .. .	173
A. Short ( <i>Sheffield T.C.</i> ) .. .	123
J. Berrill ( <i>A.S.E.</i> ) .. .	121
A. Smith ( <i>Cabdrivers</i> ) .. .	116
H. H. Elvin ( <i>Clerks</i> ) .. .	93
J. Harris ( <i>Workers' Union</i> ) .. .	87

### NOT ELECTED.

J. Wood ( <i>Stevedores</i> ) .. .	36
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#### ELECTION OF STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The nominations and voting were as follows :—

##### ELECTED.

T. Greenall ( <i>Miners</i> ) .. ..	171
Ben Riley ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) .. ..	143
John Hill ( <i>Boilermakers</i> ) .. ..	134
W. S. Gregson ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	119
A. G. Cameron ( <i>Carpenters</i> ) ..	111

##### NOT ELECTED.

Jenkin Jones ( <i>A.S.E.</i> ) .. ..	110
A. Bellamy ( <i>A.S.R.S.</i> ) .. ..	93
J. Twomey ( <i>N.A.U.L.</i> ) .. ..	77
G. R. Shepherd ( <i>Dundee L.R.C.</i> ) ..	65
Ald. R. Morley ( <i>Workers' Union</i> ) ..	64
Coun. Titt ( <i>Manchester T.C.</i> ) ..	45
J. Anderson ( <i>Stevedores</i> ) .. ..	43
J. Kinniburgh ( <i>Electrical T.U.</i> ) ..	27
A. Logan ( <i>Central Ironmoulders</i> ) ..	18

Subsequently it was found that Mr. Cameron was not present, and Mr. Jenkin Jones took his place on the Committee.

#### ELECTION OF SCRUTINEERS.

The nominations and voting were as follows :—

##### ELECTED.

J. Bullon ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) .. ..	162
R. C. Wallhead ( <i>I.L.P.</i> ) .. ..	137
W. Straker ( <i>Miners</i> ) .. ..	136
V. Morgan ( <i>Gasworkers</i> ) .. ..	75
H. J. Collier ( <i>A.S.E.</i> ) .. ..	48
A. Dalgleish ( <i>Workers' Union</i> ) ..	37

##### NOT ELECTED.

E. H. Jarvis ( <i>Carpenters</i> ) .. ..	37
A. Todd ( <i>Ironfounders</i> ) .. ..	27

Owing to the tie between Messrs. Dalgleish and Jarvis, a second vote was taken, when the former was elected.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

COUNCILLOR TURNER then delivered his Presidential Address, as follows :—

Fellow Delegates,—Allow me to thank you for giving we the honour of presiding at this, the twelfth annual gathering of the Labour Party. It is an opportunity few men can hope to have, but which it is desirable for all to be worthy of. For a second time the Party meets in Birmingham, the home of many historic movements. I believe it was in 1828 that the Birmingham co-operators established themselves in their full belief of Owenism, and it is worthy of note that the objects of the old Birmingham co-operators were to some extent the expressed aims and hopes of the Labour Party of to-day. When these old co-operators met together to frame their objects and constitution, they faced the situation with a breadth of vision that is charming to read about. They stated in their code of rules that the first object they had in view was :—"The formation of a society to protect their members from poverty." Ours is not alone to protect society from poverty, but to abolish the needless poverty of the day. We remember as John Fielden, the old factory pioneer and

Radical Member of Parliament for Oldham, put it so graphically in 1836, that "there is no natural cause for our distresses, we have fertile land, the finest herds and flocks in the world, and the most skilful husbandmen; we have fine rivers and ports, and shipping unequalled, and our ingenuity and industry have given us manufactures which ought to complete these blessings." They felt the same shame at the people's poverty then as we ought to do now. These old co-operators declared that their second object was "to secure a greater share of the comforts of life." Wise old men were these, and in their third object they declared "that this could best be secured by means of a common capital." Then again, Birmingham is historical in its relationship to national education and some of the good men who have inspired the world with educational ideals were noted citizens of this vast city. In the early days of municipalisation it was advanced and historic in its municipal development. Other towns and cities may have passed it in later days, but now that Labour Representation is forcing its way into its Council Chamber, there is hope again for Birmingham to be amongst the great cities of this country of ours.

Our nation has been rich in good men and women who have held aloft the banner of progress and our hearts should be touched with gratitude and pride as we recall the names of Robert Owen, the pioneer of true co-operation, Ernest Jones, the orator, poet, and democrat, George Odger, the Trade Union leader, and hundreds of others whose spade work has made it possible for us to meet here to-day under the organised power of 1½ millions of Trade Unionists and Socialists.

Right away from the time when class distinctions were made, when gentleman and villein, snob and snubbed, rich and poor, master and slave, employer and employed became distinctive terms, there have been some who have honestly tried to unravel the irrational tangle and place all upon an equality of opportunity, and the efforts they have made have been the stepping stones laid down for the establishment of the Labour Party.

During the wonderful nineteenth century, movements for reform were forged together, link by link and chain by chain, and the ideals were all somewhat similar, namely, the striving for human freedom and liberty.

The Short Time Committee of the early twenties, the Factory Act reformers of the twenties and thirties, the anti-Poor Law men of the late thirties and early forties, the Chartists of the forties and fifties, the franchise fighters of the sixties, the Working Men's Associations of the seventies, the Socialist unions of the eighties (including the fighting S.D.P.), the Fabians and the I.L.P. of the nineties, and the Labour Party of the past eleven years are linked with each other through the succeeding stages, and bound together with these movements is the mother of them all—the Trade Union Movement.

We are and ought to be proud of our Party, not because of its success, but because of the power within it for righteousness if truth and trust prevail. Some will say: "What has the Party to say for itself; has it fulfilled expectations?" I would answer at once "No," for the expectations raised were greater than the possibilities. Some ask: "Has it done the work it should have done?" and again I would answer "No," for it has lacked numerical strength. This can be remedied by adding to the numbers in Parliament, and, what is of more importance, increasing the sturdiness of the backing and faith of the affiliated bodies outside Parliament. Our business is to make our Party the dominating, aye, the controlling, guiding, ruling party in the State. Many things retard its progress; destructive criticism has been abundant. Such criticism may amuse, but it often disheartens, and only constructive criticism will serve. Whatever we say and do should be with the due intent of serving the Party, helping the Party, and making the Party more useful and successful.

The record of the work done during the past eleven years is magnificent. Historians will proclaim it so, despite the fact that some may think the Party could have done more than it has done.

Parliament, however, is but the reflex of the opinions of the people, and the people have got what the people asked for—so much and no more. They sent to the Parliament of 1906 labouring men with high intentions and hopes, but they sent so few of them that it was marvellous how much so few secured in those four years of Labour's first chance to be slightly effective on the floor of the House of Commons. I need not repeat the story of the Trades Disputes Act, the Feeding of School Children, the Compensation Act, the fuller adoption of the Fair Wages resolution, the Improvement for Dockyard Employees, the shaping into Legislation of the Trades Boards Act, the promotion of help for the Unemployed, and many other things that are on record to the credit of our men.

It is true we have not yet got the reversal of the Osborne Judgment, but I hope it will be possible to arrange with the Irish Party that Home Rule for Ireland, which Labour most heartily supports, and free rule for Trade Unions shall be part of the work of next session in Parliament. The Government's measure is not worthy of our acceptance, and the measure promoted by the three National Labour Congresses must be the measure we demand. The past year has been a glorious year for Labour outside Parliament, for whilst there have been fewer paying members to the Labour Party (owing to the injunctions), there are more Trade Union members and Socialists connected with our Party than ever.

The industrial unrest of the summer has borne its harvest in scores of thousands of men and women joining our Trade Unions, our Socialist bodies, and our local Labour organisations. The unrest still remains and needs guiding into disciplined activity and reasonable channels. The unrest seemed to

arise in its pronounced state as a protest against the contrast of wasteful over-richness and needless desperate poverty, for people see the contrast as Ernest Jones wrote:—

Within the mansion, banquet, rouse and rout;

Rags and starvation in the street without: There, wanton waltzers float in laces drest—Here, dies the infant on its mother's breast. There, sins unchecked amuse the rich man's time;

Here, rags, despair and hunger urge to crime. There, pleasure's ransacked till inventions fail;

Here, foul-faced minions drag the poor to jail,

Of slavery's cup to drain that deepest dred : Denied to work, yet not allowed to beg.

They remember with John Fielden that "There is no natural cause for our distresses." They don't believe that poverty is directed by Providence, they do not believe that some should be millionaires and many be paupers, whilst they are also learning the lesson that a millionaire is a danger to himself and the State, and that the system that grinds men's faces and women's souls into sorrow and degradation so that one man may be lifted up to be a "Gold God" is neither sane nor sensible. The spectre of needless want and hopeless poverty must be dispelled. The unrest of the day is a growing protest against it, and it is up to the Labour Party to show itself able to utilise the unrest further to solidify the forces of Labour. Labour forces need solidifying, there is need for amalgamation of kindred Unions, federations of closely allied trades and Unions, and a mightier federation of the amalgamated unions; whilst to us who are Trade Unionists and Socialists, I would say there is need more than ever for a continued propagation of our principles with less condemnation of our own people and more power of convincing non-socialists to our faiths and hopes.

The past year has been one of fierce conflict between capital and labour. The increased cost of living, the lack of wage improvement, the outward evidences of waste riches on the part of the capitalist class, and the keener poverty of the people made it impossible for the workers to remain quiet any longer. At a signal, which some laughed at, the seamen left their ships, dockers left their work, and an upheaval that was joyous to behold (in so far as it was the expression of Divine discontent with want) occurred. Scores of thousands of labouring men ceased work, and only returned when a peace was made that meant more wages, less hours, better regulations, and a greater share in the comforts of life. In town after town the same unrest evidenced itself. Iron-workers' labourers, a still sweated race of people, asked for £1 a week in place of 18s. What immense modesty they showed! What a sober limitation they put upon their demands! These were in conflict at the same time as the railwaymen. Here again was a grand sign of the growing solidarity of Labour, for at the request—not the bidding

—of their appointed representatives, two hundred thousand railway men in an orderly fashion laid down their tasks, walked away from the railways, and the country realised that in place of Lord Claude Hamilton and Sir Guy Granet, or similar men, running the railways, that it was the driver, fireman, guard, platelayer, signalman, porter, and others of the artisan class who had kept the railways going. That lesson learnt by the public is worth having the stoppage for. During the upheaval in the summer we had the alarming spectacle of a foolish Home Secretary overriding the authority of public bodies and sending down troops of soldiers to help the railway kings to overawe the men into submission. It was done on the alleged plea of keeping the lines open to protect the food stuffs of the people. It is well to remind the powers that be, that the food stuffs of the people need protecting to-day; for even when there is no railway strike, the food stuffs of the people are limited by monopolists and adulterators and food stuff gamblers.

The Admiralty also sent gunboats as usual to assist the employing classes. We had Magistrates anxious to read the Riot Act, Town Councillors, here and there, were pleading for special constables to be sworn in, and needless irritation was caused by authorities sending for alien policemen to act as force dealers to anyone connected with a crowd that sympathised with the strikes or strikers.

A system of special reserve constables has been established in some counties at retaining fees of a substantial amount. Other towns have selected men to be special constables when called upon for duty, and some middle-class men's sons—over-trained and under-brained—have sworn to use their baby batons to break strikers' heads if they have the chance.

All these are to be in readiness in times of trade disputes, they are not to be used when middle-class or aristocratic men's sons at Universities act like wild yahoos and break windows and heads in half-drunked childishness; no, they are there only for use in times of trades disputes. It is a dangerous game that two can play at. It can, however, best be met by electing men and women to public posts, who are of our faith and of our Party—the ballot can check the bullet—the brain can control the brute.

The cotton dispute created much concern. During the summer the Press and some of the public were roundly condemning sympathetic strikes of workers, but I failed to find a word of condemnation from the same parties when the employers in the cotton trade entered upon a huge sympathetic lock-out because three stupid weavers would not pay to the Trade Union whilst willing and anxious to receive the immense benefits the same Union had won for all cotton weavers.

We are on the eve of trouble in the mining trade. Our hearts go out to these brave men; and whilst we wish for peace we trust they may secure peace and a minimum wage. Miners do not create bad seams, faulty

places, abnormal working holes, &c., neither are they responsible for lack of corves and waggons and other hindrances to coal getters' earnings, and it is only fair to claim that every miner going down the pit is entitled to a minimum wage for the danger, the work, and the hardship he is put to when at work. I hope no strike or lock-out occurs, but if something does happen, the miners can depend upon the fullest sympathy and co-operation from the other trades of the country.

Consequent upon the success of many of the strikes during the past year, employers are somewhat disturbed and are asking for an amendment of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. One-sided benches of magistrates (most benches are one-sided, most representing property and few Labour) have been howling, along with Chambers of Commerce, for a repeal of the Act relating to picketing. The 1906 Act must be maintained; if anything, it must be strengthened so as to define intimidation to include any employer who by telephone, letter, signal, or any other means prevents a man from securing work on account of his Trade Unionism. They talk about the liberty of the subject, whilst every day they limit men's lives and chances, and the everyday story of all Trade Union officials will testify to the fact that men are victimised for their Trade Union faith.

During the year Payment of Members has become an accomplished fact. It was long overdue. It should not, must not, will not make our men less Labour men nor less faithful to the Party that has helped to make them Members of Parliament and useful legislators. The independence of our Party must be maintained. Payment of election expenses and a tightening of the Corrupt Practices Act so that rich men shall not buy seats, must be secured, whilst a general improvement of the franchise laws must be attempted.

I am a long-time supporter of Votes for Women. I want votes for all women as well as for all men—the sex barrier must be removed, I have as much faith in the women using the votes for clean politics as the men, but even if they voted for Toryism or Liberalism instead of Social Democracy, they ought to have the vote. Their right to it is imperative; I trust that manhood suffrage may not be accepted by the men unless sex disabilities are removed. Fight for the whole, but have something like fair play for the women or refuse the half-loaf of manhood suffrage.

Educational reform has not made much progress during recent years. There is a growing danger in our present system of class schooling. Elementary schools are kept for working folks' children, secondary schools for middle-class folks' children, and Universities for rich people's sons. Here and there may be a few scholarships that open an avenue from the elementary school to the University, but the path is a thorny and narrow one. The Labour Party must remove the barriers and make all education free to everybody.

Men in business spend money freely and wisely in promoting the best interests of their business, so must a nation in promoting the future welfare of the nation. Nothing will easier eradicate poverty, drunkenness, thriftlessness, over-thriftiness, wastefulness, boastfulness, and badness, and bring happiness to our people more quickly than a big, broad, education. At present elementary schools where workmen's children attend are cramped for room, they are under-staffed, the children are educated on the cheap and therefore not as efficiently as they should be. Secondary schools are more snobbish than desirable, and three times more costly to the local and national funds than the elementary schools, whilst Universities are the richer folks' preserves. Posts of power, usefulness and profit are mostly filled from the public schools and universities and class distinctions are becoming more and more pronounced owing to our unequal, unjust, and unwise educational system.

Frederic Harrison, writing last year, said : " Undoubtedly, a certain manliness and man-of-the-world-ness is bred at the best public schools. But it is a training mainly in the rigid caste-system on which British society is based. And if it teaches boys to be "gentlemen" towards their social equals, it rarely teaches them to be either generous or just to those who are poorer than themselves. The great public schools train up the sons of the well-born and the wealthy to regard themselves from boyhood as born to be the natural officers and captains in the army of the nation. The entire prelacy, civil and military service, Governments, Army and Navy, and even literary potentates issue out of these seminaries, which are the true keystone of British society. And as I cannot attribute either Divine origin or celestial inspiration to that society, I do not regard the public school system as an infallible nursery of morals or an indispensable academy of enlightenment."

Thus spoke a public school man of great attainments.

My ideal of education is a free system from primary school to secondary or advanced school to University, everyone's son or daughter having an equal and an encouraging opportunity to advance to the highest knowledge and intelligence possible.

The Labour Party has shown itself interested in the question of foreign policy—our comradeship with German and French Trade Unionists and Socialists is no mere sentiment. It has been powerful enough to prevent outbreaks of war this past year, and the more the international brotherhood of the workers is cemented, the less dangerous become the ambassadors and financiers and promoters of war.

We welcome our fraternal comrade (Herr Hermann Molkenbuhr) from the Continent to our gathering. The electoral successes in Germany are magnificent. Our Labour Party is in hearty co-operation with Labour all over the globe and is trying to further in every direction possible the plea for international arbitration when quarrels occur

between nation and nation, and encouraging the hope that international disarmament will soon be possible. War is the brute nature triumphant over wisdom and morality. I am becoming a convert to the idea that when our rulers call for war the organised workers should declare for a General Strike as a protest against such a barbarity.

During the past year many comrades have been called home. Death comes sometime into every home, and we bow our heads in sympathy with the relatives of the departed ones. Amongst the women who passed away in the mid-day splendour of life were the beloved President and Secretary of the Women's Labour League, Mrs. MacDonald and Mrs. Middleton. There also passed away the first Secretary of the Workmen's Representation League, Mr. Harry Broadhurst; also our good friend, the late Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, homely Will Steadman; stately, but kindly-hearted George D. Kelly, and George Shipton. Heroes and heroines were these, and they and many more, alas, have passed away over the hill of life into the calm valley of death. May their memories spur us on to greater work and worth.

And now what of the future? What shall it bring us? What should be our policy for the immediate future? For twenty-five years I have been connected with the Socialist Movement, and I have felt the changes from sneers and jeers, to a partial belief in, and an acceptance of, its principles.

I have seen in that short time gasworks, tramways, waterworks, electric works, and many other departments change from private owners to public control and public ownership. The latest state service was ushered in with the New Year's morning. The old Telephone Company's control of telephones is no more—the State owns and controls them. So will other services be developed until the country, aye, and the world becomes a Socialistic Eden. It won't come in a hurry; Ignorance is its foe; Education is its hand-maiden. I have seen with pride and pleasure the idea grow that no man has a right to make a profit out of some other man's labour, and thus have the power to limit his opportunity of life. Step by step—slowly, far too slowly, but nevertheless surely—the public conscience is deepening in the faith that declares for the public ownership of the means of life. Some there are, perhaps at this gathering, who would urge us not to accept palliatives, but I would say, do not attempt the impossible. Build and build and build on sure foundations. Earthquakes may destroy, but they never build up, and it is the building up of a new Kingdom that the Labour Party is now engaged upon. The odds against us are very great, interests have to be encountered, prejudices removed, and ignorance must perish before we can reach the haven of true happiness.

The powers of capitalism are vast, they at present rule the State, the Town Councils, the other public bodies, the press, and to some extent public opinion. The odds against Labour are great, but Labour can

remove mountains, and there is pleasure in the task and glory in the results.

Immediate reforms needed include an extension of the Trades Board Act to many other trades. All trades where adult women are paid less than £1 per week ought to be placed under the Act. Agricultural labourers ought to be included in the same law. The 30s. a week minimum wage advocated by our Party in Parliament showed us they were moving on right lines.

The Right to Work Bill, which, to my mind, is the Right to Live Bill, must be persisted in.

The cry for a legal Eight Hours Day needs reviving and making a living issue. The miners have largely secured an eight hours' day by law. Some employers have made it as difficult to carry out as possible, thus trying to destroy men's faith in it; some have made bigger profits out of it than before by keeping household coal prices up so as to convince the ordinary person that the miners' eight hours day is an unwise change of law. The cry, however, must go on. We must have it for Municipalities, for Government service, for Co-operative Societies, including the two great Wholesales, and it must be made applicable to the general trades of the country. Irregular employment which comes from over-employment of others, is good for nobody. Unemployment can be eased by a reduction of the working hours of Labour, and on all grounds, the late Ben Pickard's hearty cry, the popular Trade Union motto of the Gasworkers' Union, "An eight hours day," must be made an urgent issue.

Then a law needs passing to abolish night work in factories where work can be done as well in the daytime. The sacredness of life should be superior to the cost of production. Home-life needs cultivating, and fathers as well as mothers are needed at home in the evening to promote family happiness, which is the mainspring of public welfare. Trades dangerous to health, and which are not needed for the national well-being, must be abolished.

I believe the Party must have a land policy. I know the true ideal is that of nationalisation and public ownership. Wise Henry George and brave Michael Davitt threw their whole heart and soul into the work of nationalisation many years ago. Trade Union and Labour Congresses have passed resolutions asking for nationalisation, &c., but we still have private land and as a consequence, private control over human life and liberty. Alas, the people take much educating and convincing on the subject, but we must have a land policy that will ease the situation until the ideal of nationalisation has been accomplished.

The recent Census returns show how Scotland is being deprived of her workers by wicked land laws, how game is of far more importance to over-rich people than are the angel children of life. The crofters who made rocks smile with verdure in the wilds of Glengary were imprisoned in Glasgow jails for using God's land for human sus-

ance. What is our policy for these men, the landless men and women of our kingdom? Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

I think the State should be asked to contribute ten to twenty million pounds per year towards buying great farms and estates where agriculture can be developed, afforestation encouraged, and the landless man and manless land be brought together. If we could save the building of four to eight battleships per year and so show a wise example, that other nations might follow, then we could use the money for this purpose, thus preventing life being wasted, creating channels for useful work, and bringing back into needful use the agriculture without which no nation can permanently continue.

The nation must engage in scientific farming and at the same time deal with the gambling in our present food supplies until such time as the food-stuffs of the people are controlled by the State.

Railway Nationalisation is a measure that our men in Parliament will urge forward on every occasion. The nationalisation of mines and minerals is overdue. The fleecing of the public by mine owners will never stop until that is accomplished. Town Councillors and Co-operators should also take in hand in their respective localities the dev and for public or municipal coal supplies. The difference in price between good household coal and the same coal supplied to public bodies is from four to six shillings per ton. That difference goes into the pockets of middle-men. They can be dispensed with if Town Councils will buy coal to sell to their own town's folks, just as they buy coals to make into gas to sell to their own town's folks.

The Housing question is one of prime importance. The bulk of the working classes are housed much worse than the rich man's horses or the society lady's dogs. It is said the Insurance Act will abolish slums, but I am afraid not for a long, long time. Small houses, damp houses, cramped houses, houses in congested areas are the products of the rule of the propertied classes. To make garden cities requires a new faith, a new light; and alas, many workers require training to higher housing ideals. Good home life is the surest foundation for a happy nation.

The more Labour Representation we secure on Town and County Councils and the sooner we make for better houses for the common people.

I have not much to say about the new Insurance Act; it is now law, and our business should be to make it an Act of usefulness. If it does not suit us now—and it does not—then we must make it suit us all we can, and send more men to fill the Labour benches in Parliament to make it more suitable in the coming years. Make the most of what it is, learn its weaknesses and defects, promote its useful points in all directions, for it has come to stay. I was pleased to know that two of the English Commissioners were people of national repute in the ranks of Labour,

namely, our old comrade and a former Chairman of the Labour Party, David Shackleton, and Miss Moua Wilson, one-time Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League.

It is to be hoped that during the coming year—and I hope almost immediately—the often-dreamed-of, and often-spoken-about Daily Labour Newspaper will become a reality. I bespeak for it all your help and support. I also trust that it will appeal to the reading public. It will not suit everybody—no paper ever did or will—but make it your own paper and your chief paper.

The resignation from the post of Secretary by Mr. MacDonald is a great trial. He, Mr. Hardie, Mr. Hodge, and Mr. Pease are the four men who have held office all the time the Party has had an existence; they have seen the Party grow from infant force to giant strength. To Mr. MacDonald much is due, and I am glad some testification to his worth and work will later on in the day be shown. It is a great loss to the Committee, but it is tempered by the knowledge that his services to the Movement will be continued inside and outside of Parliament. I bespeak for his successor, whoever he may be, the same support and fellowship as has existed between the Conference, the Committee, and the now retiring Secretary.

I desire in conclusion to say that the power of the working classes is mighty: I want that power to be used in the promotion of human happiness. The whole essence of good government is not the old shibboleth of the greatest good for the greatest number, but the well-being of all. We may and must temporise in our schemes of reform—in doing so we shall be praised and blamed—but with our consciences as our guides and mentors, with a devotion to our cause that is higher than self or gain, and with a breadth of mind to consider other folks' views as fully and justly as our own, we shall gradually draw towards the promised Jerusalem.

Some may fall by the wayside, some may pass to other places, some may change sides, but there is no need to waste time in condemning them, for the cause we love is glorious, and its success will be measured by the faith within us.

High hopes and aims will oft inspire  
In others' hearts, a wise desire  
To strive, and striving, never cease  
To bring about love's gentle peace.  
There is no task can be too great  
To build a human, happy state.  
Courage, my comrades, do not fail,  
Justice and honour must prevail.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners), moved—

*That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Chairman for his address.*

He said he was pleased to have the opportunity of moving a vote of thanks for the magnificent address just delivered by Mr. Ben Turner. Such an address did not require any speech of his to ensure the hearty thanks and appreciation of that gathering of Labour, but perhaps he might be permitted

to say just a few words because of old comradeship and old-time friendship with the Chairman. He had known Ben Turner for over twenty years and even previous to that time the Chairman was an earnest worker in the advanced Labour Movement. During the whole period he had never deviated to the right nor left. Personally, he liked the Chairman as a fighter in the Movement and as a believer in the motto shown across the front of the platform, "They conquer who believe they can." He (the speaker) also believed in that motto, and could go further and say that in almost every case "They conquer *only* who believe they can." They who set out as pessimists, believing that while the aim and object was all right they would fail in its accomplishment, were not much use to any Movement. It was only the optimists, who believed in a cause and believed in its ultimate achievement and their power to achieve what they had set out for, who would accomplish anything. Ben Turner had done a great deal for the Labour Movement and no man better deserved the place of President of the Conference. He liked him as a fighter; he liked him also as a poet. He was going to say the poet of the Labour Movement, but he dare not risk that or he would be overwhelmed with manuscripts during the next few weeks as proofs that the Chairman was not the greatest poet of the Labour Movement. Many of the poets had been advanced thinkers and optimists and had gone in for bettering the conditions of the human race. The Chairman was one of them. He also liked him as a kind, human, genial man; beloved by the Movement because of his kindly personality. He had never heard of Ben Turner being guilty of an unkindly act to any of his colleagues, but he had done many good, kindly acts in trying to assist and encourage those who were almost falling by the wayside or giving up hope in the Movement. His example had brought into the Movement many men and women; it had buoyed up many of the older ones who had become disheartened. For all those things and for his magnificent fighting speech that day he (Mr. Smillie) thanked the Chairman.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) seconding, said he also had known Ben Turner for over twenty years, and he had seen a lot of the spade work he had done. He had known him working in the Movement when it was unpopular. The men who helped to build up the Movement when the building was hard deserved all the thanks that could be given them. He was sorry to note, however, that the Chairman was backsliding on the principle of the General Strike. He (the speaker) would have to spend some of his time at the Conference trying to prevent the Chairman becoming an absolute convert to that principle. At the same time he believed that what Mr. Smillie had said was absolutely true. The Chairman's cheery personality was an asset to the Movement they could ill spare. Fortunately, there was some

chance of keeping him for another half-century at least. He seconded the vote of thanks to "good old Ben Turner."

The motion was put and carried unanimously, and

The CHAIRMAN said in reply that he was much obliged, and he hoped that when Mr. Shaw was in the House of Commons and Mr. Smillie was Minister for Labour in the same place, and he was there as a looker-on, they would all have the same good feeling and fellowship as they had that day.

**PRESENTATION TO MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,  
M.P., ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE  
SECRETARYSHIP.**

The next business was a presentation of portraits in oils of himself and of his late wife, to Mr. MacDonald on his retirement from the Secretaryship.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., in making the presentation, said he was sure he would not be misunderstood when he said that he had undertaken the task at the request of his colleagues on the Executive with mixed feelings. His feelings would have been mixed in any case, because the retirement of Mr. MacDonald from his official position as Secretary meant something of a break, but unfortunately those feelings had been intensified beyond all power of expression by another break which never could be linked up. In Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald they had one of those remarkable personalities who by sheer worth—unassuming worth—found her way into the hearts as well as into the minds of all with whom she came in contact. Mrs. MacDonald had nothing of the demagogue in any part of her make-up. It was sheer, sweet strength which gave her that wonderful power and that magnificent influence which all of them had more or less felt when in her presence; and one of the great mysteries of life was that such a nature, so richly gifted and endowed, should have been taken away ere her powers had had time to be utilised to the extent they might. As for Mr. MacDonald, no words were required from any quarter to testify to his value in connection with the Labour Party. As was written in St. Paul's Cathedral regarding Wren, "If you want his monument, look around." If they wanted to know why this tribute of respect was being paid to their retiring Secretary let them look around the Conference benches and find the answer. Look to the Party outside; look to the strength of the Movement in the country and to the position it occupied in the House of Commons. Many were the influences which went to the building up of a great Movement, but without the man to rally round no Movement recorded in history had ever found its way to success. He remembered the anxious hours spent before the first Conference was called, trying to find someone who had the necessary qualities and abilities to undertake

the most responsible of all tasks at that period—to act as Secretary to the Party. Those who had known MacDonald's work in the I.L.P. felt that he was the one man above all others who, if he could be induced to take the position, would give the then nascent Movement its best chance of coming to fruition; and in the end, despite the enormous work which even then filled MacDonald's life, he agreed to make still further encroachments upon his time and strength in order to take upon himself the hard, laborious and—remember—unpaid work of helping to build up the Movement which had now become so great. It would be sheer folly on his part to tell them of Mr. MacDonald's ability, of his tact, of his energy, and of his voracity for hard work. He could hit hard, but he could work hard; and it was for the work he had done that they were paying him this tribute of their respect. In Mr. MacDonald they had an instance of one of the greatest side issues of the Labour Movement. Men of ability no longer required to sell their services into the hands of the enemy. There was now a working-class movement, a Trade Unionist and Socialist Movement, worthy of the best services of the best men and women in the ranks of the common people. The fact that Mr. MacDonald had shown what strong, capable, clean-minded men could do would be an encouragement to others to follow in his footsteps. Addressing Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Hardie said:—"My Comrade and Friend MacDonald, on behalf of our Executive, on behalf of the Party you have done so much for, on behalf of the Party which you now lead in Parliament and to which you are still attached, I ask you to accept as a permanent memorial of the feelings evoked in the hearts of all of us, these portraits, done by the master hand of one of our greatest artists, and may you be long spared to see them hanging upon your walls; and, as the years go by, may the inspiration that has carried you thus far become deeper and stronger, and as this Movement rises and rises, carrying the race onward to inspired heights, may you be there to see the fruition of your labours in a happy England from which poverty has been eliminated and where Labour stands erect, free and self-respecting."

MR. MACDONALD, in accepting the portraits, said that if the presentation had taken place under ordinary circumstances it would have been very difficult to have thanked them adequately for their kindness and generosity; but he was taking home those portraits to a sanctuary that was very lonely now, and their presence there would only serve to remind him of very happy days that were gone never to return. The gifts would be treasured by him all the days of his life, and when he looked at them he would be able to look back upon times full of labour, full of trial, but—might he also say—full of success; and when the Labour Party had become a power it had not yet reached and when it was able to do things of which it

could only dream now, those two portraits hanging upon his walls would remind him of those days of trial, of toil and of hope, which had gone to building up the Party such as it now was. He could not tell them what was in his heart. He could not tell them the hopes that were before him ; he could not tell them the affectionate memories that were behind him. All he could tell them was that he retired from the office of Secretary with genuine sorrow, but there was going to be no slackening in the work he did for the Labour Party. He did not require to tell them that the bed upon which he had been lying since 1900 had not been a bed of roses. He dared to say that occasionally he had put some thorns in it himself, but he was not going to leave a bed of thorns in order to lie upon a couch of down. He suspected that the Chairmanship of the Party in the House of Commons was going to be quite as difficult a position as the Secretaryship of the Party outside the House of Commons. However, whilst he had their confidence and whilst they asked him to do any kind of work they had simply to command him : he would do it. Might he just say in passing—and he thought it would be very wrong of him if he did not say it—he was exceedingly obliged to them for giving him the opportunity of meeting the artist who had executed the two paintings, Mr. Solomon ? Mr. Solomon had been sometimes rude to him. He had told him that his two eyes were not quite the same. He had told him that he had considerable difficulty in painting his nose. He had told him that it was not a very easy thing to get a permanent expression on his face. All his (the speaker's) enemies would see that the vices of his character had been duly appreciated by the wonderful artist who had produced the portraits ; but still it had been a very great pleasure for him to see much of Mr. Solomon, and their kindness had added one more to the somewhat long list of personal friendships which he hoped would remain intact during his lifetime. He wanted to get away from the other thing altogether, but it kept crowding in upon his mind, so he begged them to take the unsaid words as though they were said and to assume, as he was sure in the kindness of their hearts they would assume, that he would like to have expressed better and more truly and more richly, the very genuine feelings with which he received—if he might say so—particularly one of the two portraits. He would keep them by him, and he hoped that when the time came for him to hand them over to his children they would not merely take them from him for any value they might possess but because they themselves might be full of the same purifying democratic ideal that he had tried to keep in his own mind, and that they might be doing work which would purify and ennable the people and help working men in the great battle for liberty in which they had all been so loyally engaged for the last ten years.

The Conference then adjourned until 2.15 p.m.

#### RECOMMENDATION FROM STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

When the Conference resumed MR. T. GREENALL reported the following recommendations from the Standing Orders Committee :—

*That the paragraphs in the Executive's Report headed "Labour Newspaper" and "Newspaper Investment, &c.," be deferred for consideration until 10.30 the following day.*

*That that part of the Executive's Report dealing with the "Re-arrangement of Party Finances" be deferred for consideration until the recommendations of the Executive are reached on the Agenda.*

*That nominations for the place of next Conference be kept open until 3 o'clock on the following afternoon.*

The recommendations were agreed to.

#### FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

The following letter from the Secretary to the International Socialist Bureau was read :—

Dear Citizens,—We are discussing at this moment in Parliament the serious question of the increase in the cost of the necessities of life and we are all obliged to remain at our posts, the more so as the campaign for the elections of next June is already in full swing. Pray excuse us therefore for our inability at present to come to Birmingham as we hoped to do. We cordially wish success to your Conference, which at this moment we are sure will help to consolidate the ties that ought to unite all organised and awakened workers, as well as develop those friendships which, across the world, oppose the growth of the germs of war and of a policy such as that which is taking away the independence of nations like Persia.—Fraternal greetings.

Signed for the Executive Committee,

CAMILLE HUYSMANS, Sec.

HERR HERMANN MOLKENBUHR (German Social Democratic Party) speaking in German, which was afterwards translated by Mr. W. Stephen Sanders, said that he was sent by his Party to bring greetings from Germany to the Conference. The German Party looked upon itself as a part of the great International Labour and Socialist Movement and rejoiced whenever it found that Movement making progress in other lands. He therefore brought the best wishes of his Party for the success of the British Labour Party. The results of the German elections had surprised the world, but if the results had been otherwise the Germans would have been a nation of foolish people. If the delegates knew the conditions prevailing in Germany their surprise would have been much less than it was. The German people were not imperialists. The section which held imperialist ideas was a small one, but unfortunately at the moment it possessed the money and power of the German nation.

The majority of the German people, however, were socialistic. That was shown by the recent elections. He desired to remind them that a year previous in the Albert Hall he prophesied that the Socialist Party in Germany would increase their votes by a million and that the vote in his opinion would reach four millions. If the vote had gone up, as it had, by another quarter of a million beyond that, it was due to certain stupidities committed by the German Government which he had not anticipated. The victories were due to the organisation of the Party. They had had their battle-cries and their programme sketched out for them by the great leaders, Marx and Lassalle, and they had gone from year to year unceasingly forward in the work of making recruits to their programme, and losing no opportunity of organising those recruits into a great working-class Socialist army. One of the items in that organisation should not be overlooked. That was the Socialist daily press. In every big town in the German Empire and in some of the smaller towns there was a Socialist daily paper, owned and controlled and run in every detail by the Party. The Germans were constantly being asked when they would reach their final great victory. He must leave it to the questioners to judge by the figures as to the date when that event would take place. Their normal increase in voting strength was 80,000 per annum, but there were times when the voting strength climbed up to the extent of 180,000 per annum. For instance, in 1878 there had been a yearly increase for several years of 180,000 on account of the introduction of the new tariff system of taxation on food. Again in 1902 the same immense progress was made, and again during the five years since 1907 there had been an increase per year of close upon 200,000 votes. From that they could calculate the rate of progress towards the final triumph of the Social Democratic Party. Behind the organisation lay the protest of the German people against the burden of armaments. If it were not for the terrible results that followed armaments affecting the people who had to bear the burden and the probable result of those armaments on the peace of Europe, he could almost be thankful to the policy of the enemy in driving the people more and more into the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. The result of that policy had been to make the four-and-a-quarter million voters who had given their votes to the Socialist Candidates a great Party, an army of peace standing for peace throughout the world. There was better work to be done by the great peoples of the world than to promote strife between nations, and it seemed to him and to his Party that that great work, the work of promoting real civilisation, could only be done by parties like the Social Democratic Party and its brother party, the British Labour Party. During the recent contests the opponents of Socialism in Germany had been declaring that England was only waiting for the opportunity to crush out the German nation. The

Social Democratic Party had used every effort to combat that argument. Their main point during the contest was their attack upon the anti-English policy of the Government and the attempt to make out that England was the foe of Germany. He and his Party had stated the fact that there was no reason for strife between England and Germany even on the narrow grounds of economic welfare and advancement, because, as his Party had pointed out in Germany over and over again, the best customer of Germany was England, and the best customer of England was Germany, and it would be folly for either nation to attempt to crush the other. The result of the policy of their Government would be proposals in the near future for increased taxation on food by means of the tariff. He congratulated the English people that they only knew Tariff Reform in theory. In Germany they knew it in practice, and they were going to fight against those proposals for increased taxation with all their strength and do their best to bring about a reduction of the taxation that already existed. Finally, the election in Germany was a herald of the coming disaster that was going to overtake the ruling classes of his country, and he trusted it would find an echo in the Socialist and Labour Movement throughout the world and encourage all of them to fight more strenuously for the ideas they held in common.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress) said he was convinced that the speech just delivered had made a lasting impression on the minds of the delegates, and he hoped that in the very near future the workers of this country would have as much common sense as their comrades in Germany, and when that time did arrive the Labour Party would be very much stronger than it was at present. As Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee he had been deputed to extend fraternal greetings to the Conference. When the Conference met the previous year in Leicester he did not think any of them thought for a single moment that the Trade Union Movement would make the rapid headway it had during the last twelve months. During the previous six months the whole of the organisations had increased their collective membership to the extent of about 250,000. He was sure all of them hoped they would continue in the direction they were travelling in order that the Trade Union Movement might become very much stronger. He had always advocated, long before the Labour Party was established, that the Trade Unions and the political Movement should work side by side, because he believed that if the working classes were better organised they could do a great deal in satisfying their immediate necessities, increasing wages, reducing the hours of labour, and removing many of the grievances that they now suffer. During the last six months the wage-earners of the country had been able to demand from the moneyed class at least £10,000,000 in the shape of wages,

but that amount would not be retained unless organisation was maintained. The employers were trying to undercut the Movement, but if working people stuck together and became more solid and united, had more unity and less jealousy, the Trade Union Movement would make more headway in the future. So far as the General Labourers were concerned, they were trying to work out a scheme whereby they could all get into one Union, and if that was accomplished he did not think a single individual need be afraid of his position for there was any amount of work to be done, and hundreds of thousands of pounds would be saved that was now wasted owing to the jealousy between the different Unions. He also hoped that in the near future there would be the same solidarity and unity in the Socialist parties as existed amongst the Trade Unions, and when that was obtained, and with an extension of the franchise, the Labour Party would soon be twice its present strength.

MR. W. A. APPLETON (Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions) said he had come to express the fraternal greetings of his Committee and he, like his friend Thorne, felt that their presence at that Conference did not mean merely an expression of fraternal feeling but it was a demonstration of the actual unity that existed between the different wings of the Labour Party in Britain. Since the Leicester Conference there had been a great access of strength. So far as the Federation was concerned all the Unions had increased their membership, new Unions had affiliated, and the membership of the Federation during the last twelve months had gone up by over 130,000. That was good but not sufficient, and their work must be organised more scientifically. There were great tasks in front of the Movement. It must retain inviolate the right to strike. Then it was absolutely necessary that something should be done to remove from the Movement the chains which not so much the Legislature as the Judiciary had bound round it during the last two years. It seemed to be impossible for the lawyer to get away from the ideas and opinions of other times. It was impossible for them to get away from the spirit of the Preamble to the Conspiracy Acts. The Movement had suffered since the Taff Vale and Osborne Decisions, and the time had come when the whole of the Movement must combine to free the Unions from the legal exploitation which was taking place. On behalf of the Federation he expressed the hope that they would all work together, and that the coming years would see a real Federation including the whole of the Trade Unions in the country. That need had been understood by many for years and the desire was being uttered throughout the country at the present time. He felt satisfied that they would live to see a Movement their fathers never dreamt of. For business purposes there might be the industrial and the political sides, but for offensive and defensive purposes the world might as well know that

there was only one Movement in Britain as there was only one Movement in Germany.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked the fraternal delegates for their kindly observations and greetings.

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The Report of the Executive was taken as read, the Chairman naming each paragraph as it was reached.

#### BY-ELECTIONS.

MR. E. BOTTOMLEY (Oldham Labour Party) said that every Trade Union official in Oldham was invited to appear on Mr. Robinson's platform at the recent by-election, but very few turned up at the adoption meeting, and among the absentees were several of the most prominent. Mr. Robinson and other influential men personally made representations to these officials, and they met with rebuffs. Mr. Ben Turner, the President of the Conference, went to Mr. Thomas Ashton, of the Operative Spinners, and asked him to sign Mr. Robinson's nomination paper, but Mr. Ashton refused.

THE CHAIRMAN said he never saw Mr. Ashton, and the statement was not correct.

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that at any rate Mr. Robinson and Mr. Turner saw Mr. Mullin, the Secretary of the Cardroom Amalgamation. At the last Conference, Mr. Mullin was a fraternal delegate from the Trade Union Congress, and in congratulating the Party on its successes at recent elections he said "the Congress took a deep interest in the work and regretted that any obstacles should be placed in the way of progress, especially by men of their own rank." "If men thought that by that means they would stop the Labour Movement," Mr. Mullin added, "they did not know the stamina of the men at the head of the Movement." The Oldham Labour Party had thought that Mr. Mullin meant those words, and that was why they approached him. Owing to the non-appearance of Mr. Mullin and others on the Labour platform and their failure to sign the candidate's nomination papers, the rank and file of the Trade Union Movement thought that Mr. Robinson was not a *bona-fide* Labour Candidate, and that added greatly to the difficulty of his task. The Oldham Labour Party wanted to know where these men stood, and they wanted the Conference to say whether they had acted rightly.

MR. FRITH (Oldham Labour Party) said he believed Mr. Robinson could have almost won the election if he had had the whole-hearted support of the Trade Union leaders. They surely had a right to expect the support of men whom they had honoured with the highest position in the Labour Movement.

MR. W. MULLIN (Textile Workers) said he expected the matter to be raised, because ever since the election the Labour Party in Oldham had done all they possibly could to vilify him. If they could have done so they would have ousted him from his position. Before his nomination as Labour Candidate

Mr. Robinson asked the Council of the United Textile Workers' Association to put him on their list, but it was explained to him that they could not do so without the sanction of the delegates belonging to the different societies. When the by-election came Mr. Robinson went to the Council again and asked for moral support, and many of the members promised to help him. But he (Mr. Mullin) did not agree with the policy of the Oldham Labour Party. As a Party they had no organisation and no money. They had nothing behind them. His own local organisation were not connected with the Party, and he had to consider their interests as well as Mr. Robinson's. Mr. Robinson came to stand as a Labour Candidate for the purpose of defeating the Liberal Candidate. The employers were doing all they possibly could to get the Conservative Candidate in. They were opposing the Liberal because the Government had brought forward the Insurance Bill, and as that was a measure that he wished to see carried, he wanted the Liberal Candidate to be elected. If Mr. Robinson had been a candidate of the Textile Workers he would have helped him all he could, as he had helped every other candidate they had brought out.

MR. J. H. STANDRING (I.L.P.) moved—

That the paragraph be referred back as a protest against the action of Mr. Mullin.

MR. G. FEARNLEY (Street Masons) seconded.

MR. TOM SHAW (Textile Workers) said he believed Mr. Mullin had been perfectly conscientious in what he had done. At the same time, he did not think there were half a dozen men in the Textile Unions who believed that he had acted rightly. While the Councils of the Textile Workers could not endorse Mr. Robinson's candidature without the sanction of a special meeting of the delegates, they passed a resolution wishing him success and assuring him of their moral support, and the majority of the Council did their best to help him. The Labour Party had had three or four fiascos in Oldham, but the last was the worst. It was most humiliating to the Movement that men whose names were honoured in Lancashire Trade Unionism should have refrained from giving the Labour Candidate their full support.

The amendment was then withdrawn.

#### UNIFICATION OF LABOUR FORCES.

MR. A. SHORT (Boilermakers) said that at the previous Conference he called attention to the subject of the unification of Labour forces and Mr. Henderson, in reply, stated that it would have the careful consideration of the Executive. He supposed the proposals now submitted were the result of that consideration and he wished to make a protest against the inactivity of the Executive and what appeared to him to be a ring of insincerity about the proposals. The necessity of amalgamating their forces was constantly being urged on the workers, and yet, on the other hand, it seemed as if the

leaders of the Movement were incapable of interpreting properly the spirit of unrest and industrial activity. There was a ring of insincerity about the present proposals for when they were being formulated one of the national bodies entered into possession of a new building. That did not show a real desire for unification. If various Conferences had suggested the advisability of securing amalgamation why was it that the delegates now were simply asked to express the sentimental suggestion that amalgamation should be aimed at, and why was it that something more tangible was not before the Conference? He wished to see the leaders of the Movement in touch with the spirit of the rank and file. The present proposals were not in harmony with the spirit of the Movement and ought to be referred back.

MR. J. ANDERSON (Stevedores) said he wished to associate himself to some extent with the remarks of the last speaker as to the apparent lack of sincerity in the proposals. There seemed to be a determination to postpone the final settlement of the question. He would like to move the deletion of the words "the three national conferences" and substitute "a special conference of delegates from societies constituting the three organisations." The proposals as they stood would only lead to further delay. They would first of all have to go to the Annual Conference of the General Federation, then to the Trade Union Congress, and then it would be next January before they came before the Party again. He saw no necessity for this continual putting off.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said he thought both the previous speakers were under a misapprehension. The statement which Mr. Henderson had made at the last Conference was that the matter would receive careful consideration and would be reported to the present Conference. The report before the delegates was not a report in the form of recommendations for them to accept and then for the next Conference to receive. What the report stated was that the Executive on the 25th of April presented three resolutions to the Executives of the Trade Union Congress and the General Federation, to take before their Annual Conferences. That had been done, and the General Federation and the Trade Union Congress had passed the resolutions. The proposals were not going to be taken back for final consideration. The present Conference was the final body to settle the matter, and if it agreed with the resolutions then all the bodies had agreed to them and operations would commence at once. He agreed to some extent with Mr. Short, that the thing had dragged on too long, but that was not their fault. They had done everything they could to hurry the matter along, and if the Conference accepted the proposals the Executive would immediately take them in hand.

MR. JOHN HILL (Boilermakers) said his society was responsible for a resolution on

the Agenda asking, not that there should be one Annual Conference instead of three and that there should be one central building in London, but that there should be one central governing body instead of three authorities. He would rather that the Conference would unanimously agree to their resolution which was a much bigger step than was proposed by the Joint Executives; and unless the decision on this paragraph in the Report could be deferred he did not see how the later resolution could be agreed to. He would therefore like to ask the Executive to defer consideration of the paragraph.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said he sincerely hoped the Conference would not take the course suggested by Mr. Hill. Some of the delay had arisen from the desire to secure agreement not only with the Parliamentary Committee but also with the General Federation. The Executive wanted to have as far as possible complete fusion. The Trade Union Congress had carried one resolution for fusion of the three bodies and then at the same Congress had carried a resolution for fusion of two of the three bodies. He hoped this Conference would not stultify itself in that way.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners) asked whether, if the paragraph were passed, there would be a Conference of the whole Labour Movement to consider the question.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the suggestion was a very good one and the Executive would consider it favourably.

#### DEPUTATIONS.

A DELEGATE asked why there was no mention in this paragraph of the Conference held in Edinburgh during the previous August. He was in favour of the setting up of a Scottish Committee.

MR. MACDONALD, replying, said that he attended the Edinburgh Conference, and he presented a pretty full report of it to the Executive. The report was full of controversial matter and it had been considered more than once, but the Executive had not been able to arrive at a definite conclusion. One of the difficulties was finance, and until they were able to straighten up accounts and get some definite idea as to what their income was to be they did not feel justified in settling the question. The new Executive would, however, be able to consider the report in all its fulness.

MR. W. A. WAYTE (Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association) asked whether the Executive had received any communications from the North Staffs Trades and Labour Council with regard to the candidature of Mr. Enoch Edwards, M.P.

THE CHAIRMAN replied in the negative.

#### ELECTION OF SECRETARY.

MR. T. GREENALL, on behalf of the Standing Orders Committee, announced that Mr. W. J. Read had withdrawn his nomination for the Secretaryship.

THE CHAIRMAN then declared that Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., was elected Secretary unopposed.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) said he noticed that the National Section of the Bureau had agreed that the Secretary of the Labour Party should be *ex-officio* British Secretary to the International. He thought things were getting a bit mixed because the British Section of the International was a section of an International Socialist body. When the arrangement regarding the Secretary was made, the Secretary of the Labour Party (Mr. MacDonald) was a Socialist, but now the Secretary of a Socialist body was to be a non-Socialist. That was a very curious state of affairs. It might just as well be suggested to the Labour Party that they should have a Tory Secretary.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., said the International Congress was not an International Socialist Congress; it was an International Socialist and Trade Union Congress. The constitution of the Congress expressly provided for the representation of Trade Unions which believed in political action. One reason for the change in the Secretary of the British Section was that the work to be properly done—as Mr. Sanders, the late Secretary, knew to his cost—involved a great amount of clerical work, and by making the Secretary of the Labour Party Secretary also to the Section he was able to have the assistance of the staff of the Labour Party. The main reason for the change, however, was that previously the Trade Union Movement of this country had not been in close touch with the International Movement, and it was felt that if the Secretary of the Labour Party was also the channel of communication between the International Bureau and the various Trade Union and Socialist bodies in this country, all information that came from the Bureau would be sent out, interest in the International Movement would be kept alive, and the British Section made so much more effective.

#### MATTERS REMITTED FROM LAST CONFERENCE. EIGHT HOURS' DAY CAMPAIGN.

MR. C. T. CRAMP (Railway Servants) asked whether the Executive had any definite date in their minds for the holding of the demonstrations.

MR. MACDONALD, in reply, said they had no definite time in mind because they were again facing a Session of Parliament that was practically certain to run through the autumn, but the campaign would be arranged as soon as possible.

#### ELECTORAL AND TRADE UNION BILLS

MR. A. SMITH (Cabdrivers) asked whether the Bills mentioned would be re-introduced.

MR. MACDONALD replied in the affirmative.

MR. J. CROSS (Textile Workers) asked what the intentions of the Executive were

in regard to the Trade Union Bill. It was very awkward for injunction Societies not to be able to take their fair share in Labour Representation.

MR. MACDONALD said that the Conference would be discussing a resolution on the subject the next day, but the Parliamentary Party had obtained a pledge from the Prime Minister that a Bill would be re-introduced, and he could assure the delegates that the Party would do all they possibly could to get that Bill introduced very early in the Session, so that it may get before Committee and be amended according to reason.

#### ENTERTAINMENT OF AUSTRALIAN COLLEAGUES.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) asked whether any Secretary had been appointed in connection with the communications with the Labour Parties in the Dominions.

MR. MACDONALD said that the Secretary of the Labour Party had been acting in the meantime. They had got into communication with the Party in each self-governing State, and the matter was in hand.

#### PARLIAMENTARY FUND ACCOUNT.

COUNCILLOR EGERTON WAKE (Barrow Labour Party) asked what the Parliamentary Party proposed to do in face of the alarming increase in the loss of life and limb occasioned by the increase in the number of accidents in the industries of the country. A resolution was passed at the Hull Conference demanding an Inquiry into those accidents.

THE CHAIRMAN, interrupting, said that the delegate was out of order.

MR. WAKE asked when he would be entitled to raise the matter. The opportunity afforded in previous Conferences for discussing the Parliamentary Fund Account. Was the Parliamentary Report going to come up for confirmation by the Conference?

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the Parliamentary Report was a personal statement by the Chairman issued only for information.

MR. WAKE maintained that if that was so, then he was entitled to raise the matter on the Parliamentary Fund Account.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., rising to a point of order, submitted that if it was intended to pass criticism on the action of the Party in the past Mr. Wake would be in order, but if it was desired to discuss what action was to be taken in the future then it was not in order to take it on the Finances but it should have been the subject of a motion on the Agenda.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that Mr. Hardie's point was right.

MR. WAKE, resuming, said he wished to call attention to the fact that a Committee of Inquiry had been set up on the subject of Accidents, that two Members of the Party had served on that Committee, that they had secured a majority Report in favour of making the whole of the Factory Inspectors

practical men, and that since the publication of the Report Mr. McKenna, the Home Secretary, had refused to adopt it. He desired to ask why in view of that refusal the Party had taken no further action with regard to the deplorable increase in accidents. In 1909 there were 946 fatal accidents; in 1910 there were 1,080; and in 1911 there were 1,186. The increase in 1911 over 1910 was 9.8 per cent.; and that in 1911 over 1909, 25.4 per cent. With regard to non-fatal accidents the increase was even more alarming. In 1909 there were 96,608; in 1910 there were 106,154; and in the first nine months of 1911 there were 121,505; an increase over 1910 of 14.5 per cent., and an increase over 1909 of 24.5 per cent. With regard to cases of industrial poisoning, in 1910 there were 574, and in 1911 there were 755, an increase in one year of 31.5 per cent. At the present time Factory Inspectors who have practical knowledge are not allowed to go into shops where machinery is at work. There were thirty assistant inspectors with practical qualifications who were prohibited from going into such places. It seemed to him that in view of the alarming increase in accidents the Parliamentary Party ought to have done something to force the Home Secretary to adopt the recommendations of the Committee in order to obviate such an appalling loss of life. With the intensification of industry, the premium bonus system, speeding up, &c., English industry was being turned into a huge Juggernaut. The time had arrived when the Labour Party ought to take a definite stand and see that the factory inspectorate was made practical and was supported by all the forces of Government in striving to protect the life and limb of the worker.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., replying, said that the Labour Party was the only Party that had ever done anything in the House of Commons on the subject of accidents. It was the Labour Party that secured the Committee of Inquiry. When the Committee was considering its Report it was the two Labour Members who defeated the Chairman and got a Report carried by a majority against him. Since the Report had been published the Party had been unceasing in its attempts to compel the Home Office to consider it. Mr. Henderson raised the matter upon the Home Office Vote in the last Session. He also introduced a deputation dealing specifically with his own trade which was very hardly hit in the matter of accidents. The Party had put questions and would repeat them, and during the coming Session the fight would be opened up again with the Committee's Report behind them.

#### STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

##### AUDITORS' REPORT.

MR. J. T. BROWNIE said that in consequence of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Marsland, the Senior Auditor, it devolved on him to submit the Auditors' Report. They found the accounts kept in excellent

order, every item of contribution duly entered, receipts given, and every item dealing with the various accounts properly entered in the ledger and in the other necessary books. They saw all vouchers, bank receipts, bank pass-books, and the amount of money in hand. In conclusion, on behalf of his colleague and himself, he desired to tender their thanks to the members of the office staff for the assistance rendered.

MR. J. HALLSWORTH (Eccles L.R.C.) said that it had been stated in connection with the Oldham bye-election that the grant of £200 shown in the Balance Sheet was an irregular payment and it had caused considerable discussion in Manchester. He would like to ask whether the grant was in proper order, and whether it was a grant out-and-out or a loan that had to be repaid.

THE CHAIRMAN said the question was not one for the Auditors, but would be reached later.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said that in the Parliamentary Fund Account under the heading of Refunds of Maintenance there was an item of £3,900. When at the beginning of 1911 the Executive thought it was possible that Payment of Members by the State would come into operation during the year, the Secretary sent to each Member of Parliament with the cheque for the first quarter a statement that in the event of Payment of Members coming into operation the payments by the Party had to be refunded. The same statement was sent out with subsequent payments. Payment of Members did not come into force until three quarterly payments had been made, and then their Members returned the amounts due to the Party Funds under the arrangement, with one exception. Therefore the amount repaid was £3,900, whereas, if all the Members had refunded, it would have been £4,000. He believed the Society of the Member in question challenged the right of the Executive to ask for the refund of the money, but he understood that in the event of the Conference saying that the Executive were right they were willing to accept that decision. The matter was perfectly plain. £3,900 was in the possession of the Executive and the amount ought to be £4,000. It was true that the Executive had made private arrangements in one or two cases but they had the £3,900 either actually paid or the responsibility accepted by those concerned. It was for the Conference to decide whether the Executive were right, and if they were right to instruct them to take action to put all the Members on the same footing.

MRS. BRUCE GLASIER (Women's Labour League) said she wished to thank the Labour Party on behalf of the League for the grant the Party had made them. Their gratitude was of a kind, however, that was lively with the sense of favours to come. Still, in the Women's Labour League the Labour Party had a very strong asset on its side at a very small price.

COUNCILLOR S. FRITH (Oldham Trades Council) moved the following:—

*That this Conference supports the request of the Executive to Societies which had benefited by payments from the Parliamentary Fund since the 1st of April last that the money should be refunded.*

He said he believed the Society in question ought to pay the money back so long as the Member was getting paid by the State.

The motion was formally seconded.

MR. R. PAISLEY (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) asked Mr. Henderson to read the answer sent by the Executive of his Society in reply to the request for repayment and thus make quite clear the reasons why the Society refused to refund.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., then read the following letter:—

Dear Sir,—Yours of the 2nd inst. to hand enclosing copy of a communication addressed to our Mr. W. T. Wilson in respect to the return of £100, and his reply thereto.

Mr. Wilson correctly informs you that our Executive Council demur to the return of this money, as the assistance rendered from the Parliamentary Fund towards the salaries of Labour Members is not the sole purpose for which this Fund was established, but the amount contributed per member by the Unions affiliated to the Party was based on the consideration these payments would have to be paid.

Therefore, if the Party has been relieved of payments for the quarters ending June and September in consequence of the action of the Government, Societies like ours who have paid their contributions over this period on the estimated liabilities originally made but now reduced, ought certainly not to be called upon to return this £100 received towards salaries, but rather have returned to them a percentage of what has been paid into the Labour Party's Funds on account of this year's expenditure.

It is not in any mereenary spirit our Council take up this attitude, as we have since our connection with the Party collected and expended in support of the Movement no less a sum than £11,224, out of which the Labour Party has received £3,483 12s. 6d., and returned in relief of salaries and share of Returning Officers' Fees £1,553 10s. od., thereby benefiting financially to the extent of £1,930 2s. 6d.; and during this period we have fought ten contested elections in the Labour interest.

However, since the Osborne Judgment the difficulty of getting money is very great, and now we have the inevitable injunction against us, so that with one thing and the other, unless something happens to improve the situation, we shall soon have no funds available to return anything from, and the chances are that

our Union will be put out of the running altogether so far as active work in connection with election matters is concerned.—

Yours very truly,  
F. CHANDLER, Gen. Sec.

MR. HENDERSON, continuing, said other Societies had been injuncted and other Societies had paid. The Executive thought they were only doing their duty in letting the Conference know that this Society had not paid, and it was for the Conference to decide what had to be done.

MR. W. H. TAYLOR (London Society of Compositors) said his Voluntary Association took the view that the Executive had no right to issue any instructions as to the refund of the money until the matter had been before the Annual Conference.

MR. A. G. CAMERON (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) said he would like it to be understood that the delegate of his Society who had asked for the letter to be read had been nominated by the Society's Executive and had not been elected by the rank and file. He would make bold to say that the delegates representing the Society who had been elected by the general body of members would all vote that the Society should be called upon to pay the £100. Their Society had fought many fights as everybody knew, and he had taken part in some of them. They had fought and lost, but still they hoped to fight again, and although they had not got much money at present they were going to have it by and by. Their Executive, like some other Executives, were not giving the rank and file the fighting lead they ought or they would have had plenty of money.

The motion was put and declared carried.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., replying to the question previously put regarding the Oldham grant, said that perhaps the grant was somewhat irregular but the Executive felt that, having regard to the whole of the circumstances, they were justified in using the balance left over from the Special Appeal Fund, which was not a creation of the Conference but merely an administrative action the part of the Executive to meet special emergencies. They considered that they would have been false to the Movement if they had not fought Oldham, and in order to fight it they had to have recourse to the Special Fund to assist the campaign.

MR. J. HALLSWORTH (Eccles L.R.C.) said he was obliged for the explanation and was perfectly satisfied with it.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPORT AND NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT.

A DELEGATE desired to raise a question on the Parliamentary Report.

THE CHAIRMAN said it was out of order and could not be done.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) asked if there were to be expressions of censure in the Parliamentary Report on

other Members of the Party without the Conference being able to discuss the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that it had been the custom at all previous Conferences to exclude discussion on the Parliamentary Report. It might be a wrong custom, but it could be altered by motion at a future Conference.

MR. A. GOULD (Hull Trades Council) protested against any matter being inserted in Reports which could not be discussed at Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the Executive would take into consideration the observations that had been made, and the delegates might leave it to be reported upon to the next Conference.

MR. W. A. WAYTE (Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association) moved—

That the Standing Orders be suspended in order to discuss the National Agent's Report.

The motion was formally seconded, and on being put there voted 147 for, and 157 against, and it was declared not carried.

The Conference then adjourned until 10 a.m. on the following day.

#### THURSDAY'S SITTING.

The Conference resumed on Thursday, January 25th, at 10 a.m.

#### GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

##### THE USE OF MILITARY IN TRADE DISPUTES.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (I.L.P.) moved the following :—

*That this Conference is of opinion that the use of Military in trade disputes is unwarranted, and constitutes a menace to organised labour. It condemns the Government for placing soldiers at the disposal of the railway companies and importing troops under command of officers who were given power to override all local or municipal authorities. It demands that steps be taken to prevent such action on the part of the Home Office in future, and registers its opinion in favour of united action by all workers' organisations, in the event of any future attempt on the part of the Government to overawe the workers on strike.*

He said he felt that this was one of the most important questions before the Conference. They had had experience of the dangers of the unwarrantable use of the military in trade disputes since the last Conference, and he thought the Conference should express its mind strongly on the matter so that future dangers of the same kind might be averted. He was quite sure that none of the delegates was in the least anxious to see any sort of riot or tumult during strikes or lock-outs. Nothing would be gained by riot. At the same time they were not going to see the ordinary civic rights of workmen invaded by the use of military.

What happened in connection with the recent strike of railwaymen? The Government apparently went to the companies and told them that if their men came out on strike the whole force of the soldiers of the country would be placed at the disposal of the companies, and the soldiers would be sent into towns even against the wishes of the local authorities if the companies desired them. Soldiers were brought into Manchester without even the knowledge of the Lord Mayor, without the knowledge of the local magistrates, and when there was absolutely no excuse, no disturbance or riot of any kind taking place in Manchester. The Conference ought to say definitely that that sort of thing had got to come to an end; that they were not prepared to see any sort of Russianising of this country. They knew what had happened in those towns where the soldiers had been used. In Llanelli two men, standing in their own gardens and taking no part in any disturbance, were shot dead. It was proved at the inquest that those two men had taken no part in any tumult, and the Coroner said that there was no evidence that they were in any way blameworthy. If the people were going to tolerate that it meant they were going to tolerate a very serious invasion of their civic rights, and he hoped the people, and especially Trade Unionists, would say definitely that they were not going to have those unfair powers brought against them. The soldiers ought to be impartial during a trade dispute; and sometimes, if justice was to be done and if the guns were to be used, they ought to be used as much against the unjust sweater of labour as against the working people. Therefore, he asked the Conference to condemn this unjust, this unwarrantable use of the military, because if they did not do so in the strongest possible terms the evil would grow until the same methods would be used against the working men in this country as were already used against them in Spain, in Russia, and other lands.

COUNCILLOR A. J. THATCHER (I.L.P.) seconded the resolution, and said that during the recent railway strike the Government mapped out the country into areas and showed that they were determined to take sides with the employers for the definite purpose of defeating the railwaymen. The Conference should tell the whole country that they condemned the action of the Government in the strongest possible terms. The local authorities were over-ridden during the recent disputes and they would be over-ridden in the future unless some strong action was taken. In any repetition of such action on the part of the Government the whole of the workers should lay down their tools and call a General Strike in answer to the Government.

#### RECOMMENDATION FROM STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. T. GREENALL reported a recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee that at 11 o'clock on the following day the Stand-

ing Orders be suspended for fifteen minutes for a motion on Foreign Policy and Persia to be discussed.

The recommendation was accepted.

COUNCILLOR T. TOPPING (Huddersfield Trades Council), continuing the discussion on the use of the military, said that as one of the railwaymen who took part in the strike he could say that from the point of view of the order of the men on strike there was no necessity whatever to bring military into any town or district in the country. Great pressure had been brought to bear to have the military in Huddersfield both by the military authorities and by the companies, but he was glad to say that the Mayor and Town Clerk had refused to have them. Where the men were organised there was no necessity to have the military in at all. The men behaved exceedingly well. There was no wonder that riots took place at Llanelli in view of the state of feeling which the bringing in of the military was bound to create. With all the powers the workers possessed, even if it came to appointing secret societies, they must stop the practice of the military being brought in in cases of trade disputes either on the railways or in any other trade.

COUNCILLOR TOM FOX (Manchester and Salford Trades Council) said he hoped the resolution would be carried unanimously. There was an aspect of the question that had not been dealt with. They could not condemn the sending of the military into the industrial centres without linking up with it the Home Office circular that was issued to the local authorities throughout the Kingdom. To his mind the most dangerous feature of that circular was the idea suggested therein that the police authorities should have a division of special constables who could serve without pay. If a man was going to do police duties without pay he was not going to be an ordinary working man or he was going to be a man who would be subsidised by the employers, and in any case it was a most dangerous thing to do. The authorities might just as well realise once for all that organised Labour had no fear either of military or of blackleg policemen. Having carefully considered the words he was going to use, he said deliberately that if that class of man was going to be placed upon the streets during disputes and trouble ensued, then those who placed him there would have to accept the responsibility. The organised workers of the country realised very clearly that they had nothing to gain either by riot or disorder but had much to lose, and he suggested that if the authorities wanted assistance outside the ordinary police force for the maintenance of law and order then the people whom they could look to would be the members of the various Trade Unions. He hoped the Conference would speak out with no uncertain voice against this new and dangerous policy of a Liberal Home Secretary to attempt to over-ride organised Labour by a parade of military force. They

had no desire to break the law ; they had no intention to break the law ; but so long as the present industrial system rested upon its present unjust basis they would maintain the right to refuse the employers' terms when they considered them to be unjust.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE.

##### LABOUR NEWSPAPER.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said he hoped the delegates would recognise that the business he was introducing to them was of supreme importance. The previous year—and he was not going any further back—the London Society of Compositors, or, at any rate, the Voluntary Parliamentary Committee attached to that Society, had a resolution on the paper in the following terms :—

With a view to furnishing the workers of the United Kingdom with correct information on Labour matters, this Conference instructs the Executive Committee of the Labour Party to take immediate steps to print and publish a daily Labour Newspaper.

He would like to remind the delegates that that resolution was put on the Agenda at the instance of the London Society of Compositors. Mr. Henderson, speaking on behalf of the Executive, stated that the matter had been under consideration for some time, that as a matter of fact they had gone so far as to prepare a circular to the Party on the subject, but that just when the circular was ready for issue the Osborne Judgment was delivered and they were advised, rightly or wrongly, that that had a bearing upon the whole matter. They did not want to court defeat and so the circular was withheld ; and upon Mr. Henderson's statement the representative of the L.S.C. expressed himself so satisfied that he begged leave to withdraw the resolution. He need not go further back than that. Since then the Executive had still further considered the matter, and that morning each of the delegates had been supplied with a proof copy of the prospectus of a new Company. That Company the the Executive desired to commend to the very serious consideration of the Conference. He was not going to take up their time by telling them how necessary it was for the Labour Party to have a daily newspaper. They were clapping their hands and full of enthusiasm in their hearts over the results of the German elections. If the German Social Democratic Party had been without a single daily newspaper within the bounds of the German Empire, if it had had to depend upon the advocacy of the German Liberal and Radical newspapers for what support it had received, there would not be 50 Social Democratic Members in the German Reichstag ; and he told the Conference candidly that if they were going

to have their 42 Members increased to 142 the thing they had to do at once was to put power in the hands of some Executive or Board of Management to produce within twelve months at least one daily Labour newspaper that would advance their cause and explain their position to the people of the country. So far as he was concerned, he had no cause to complain of the press in general. There were exceptions ; they expected them. But if they took the whole of the British press, Liberal and Conservative, he was bound to say—and he said it quite honestly and candidly—that they had been so generous to the Party that he very often marvelled how they could have done it. They were Party organs, the money behind them was Tory and Liberal, The Party fought both Tory and Liberal ; and no one in the Movement ought to expect for a single moment that those newspapers, recognising in the Party a very serious menace to their political parties, should tell pleasant truths about the Party. Even if they were angels they would not do it. If the Movement wanted to have the truth about itself then it had to tell it through its own editors and staff and Board of Management. That was not all. The Party had become a sort of public interest during the last two or three years. If anybody could gossip about it he could get half-a-crown for the gossip, and, unfortunately, the people who were prepared to gossip in the public press were not prepared to think twice as to whether their gossip was true or false. There was consequently an organisation of Labour news supplied from certain headquarters that were prepared to shut one eye to the truth when circulating the truth would not exactly pay. Every now and again the delegates would find in their newspapers notes headed, "From a Labour Correspondent,"—statements about what the Party had done, what it was thinking of doing, and what it was going to do, that were absurd in their falsity. And then, although they (the delegates) came to the Conference and talked about the bloated capitalists and swore at the capitalist press in language which the Chairman would allow them to use, nevertheless they would go away and on the Saturday morning, lifting up one of those organs and seeing that the Labour Party—say, for example, "had sold itself to the Liberal Party,"—would shake their sage heads, and whether they liked it or not and whether they said it or not, they really began to believe it. Then when the Party did not contradict it they would say, "Well, there must be something in it." The business of the Party was not to contradict false information. The business of the rank and file was to give it a chance of spreading sound information. They could not engage in a newspaper enterprise in a sort of flighty frame of mind. A newspaper was a very difficult thing to run, a very difficult thing to establish. Some of them, he thought, had had their fingers burnt by experiments, and those who had gone

through that experience would always remember the Scotch proverb that "a burnt child dreads the fire." The Executive had gone very carefully into the business side of the proposal. He wished the Executive could have said, "Give us £5,000 and we will start your newspaper." There was not a man who knew anything about newspaper property who would make that statement. It was impossible to establish a newspaper on £5,000. They had gone very carefully into the business side and they asked for capital to the tune of £150,000. It was far better for the Movement to spend £150,000 upon founding a newspaper than to spend the same sum in undertaking a strike. Both were necessary; but the heartiness with which they ought to do the one ought to be out of all proportion to the heartiness with which they did the other. If they could find £150,000 for a row in which they might be beaten, they ought far more readily to find £150,000 to found a newspaper which would make their defeats fewer. On the prospectus the delegates would find that capital to the extent of £150,000 was asked for. They wanted to start with something less than that and had considered that if they got £50,000 it would justify them in going to allotment. He would remind them of a point in the Companies Law. The prospectus would be issued the following week. In accordance with law if, on the fortieth day after the issue of the prospectus, the directors had not received applications equal to the minimum subscription then they could not go to allotment. That meant that if on the fortieth day the delegates and their friends had not applied for £50,000 of shares the venture would come to an end. Therefore, what the delegates were going to do let them do quickly. Promises to the extent of £60,000 had been received from Trade Unions and friends who were altogether in sympathy with the Movement and who did not belong to any political party except the Labour Party. There was no reason why there should not be applications for at least £100,000 within the forty days if the Unions, particularly those who had good bank balances, did their duty to the whole of the Movement. It would be seen on the prospectus that a temporary Board of Directors had been appointed. In the appointment of that Board they had done their best to make it representative. Reference to the Articles of Association would show that every precaution had been taken—he wished to emphasise this as it would very like be a point that would have to be met—every precaution had been taken to ensure that the paper when it was started could never be transferred from the Labour Party. No man could come in and buy up shares and when he had accumulated enough of them turn up at a General Meeting, change the Directors, put on a majority of his own men, and then divert the paper from its original purpose. That was made impossible by the Articles of Association. The shares were so allotted, so divided into

A, B, C, and D shares, and each of those shares were so carefully defined so far as their privileges were concerned, that the paper could never be anything but the property of and under the control of the Labour Party as represented that day at the Conference. They approached the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Management Committee of the General Federation asking for their support, and they had done everything possible to secure that the representative character of the paper would be absolutely complete. They had also approached the Miners' Federation, the Textile Workers, and as many Associations as possible. They had not acted as amateurs. They had taken expert advice; they had consulted newspaper managers, newspaper editors, men of wide experience. They had good solicitors and barristers advising them on points of law. As a matter of fact, the document in front of the Conference was the best thing that could be done from a business and legal standpoint in order to start a newspaper so that at last the Movement might have a voice in the press of the world. He hoped, therefore, that the Conference would give them an enthusiastic and unanimous backing.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dockers) said he rejoiced to see at last the possibility of having arrived a little nearer the goal set out for fifty years previous. There was no doubt they wanted not only a Labour newspaper but Labour newspapers. Under existing circumstances it was a matter for regret that a Labour newspaper could only be commercially successful if it went into the history of gee-gees and the alluring descriptions of Brother Johnson in America and elsewhere. He himself had had some experience of Labour papers; he had already helped to kill about six. The national newspaper could be used for the dissemination of the real facts about the Labour Movement and would obviate the necessity of much amateur Labour correspondence. He welcomed the advent of a Labour paper very sincerely and very heartily, and trusted that the line foreshadowed would be followed up. There must be no amateurism about the job. The paper must be run, perhaps not exactly on the same lines, but on the same principle as other newspapers. It would be a disgrace and reflection on the Movement if the balance of £150,000 was not forthcoming within the forty days.

MR. H. SKINNER (Typographical Association) asked whether or not it was intended to buy all the necessary plant and print the paper from the Company's own premises.

MR. MACDONALD replied that it would all depend upon the response given to the appeal for money. If sufficient capital were obtained to justify the sinking of money in plant it would undoubtedly be done. If sufficient was not forthcoming then they would have to get the paper printed by contract for some time.

MR. SKINNER asked whether any contract had been made for the production of the paper.

MR. MACDONALD said the answer was absolutely and unreservedly in the negative. There had been no contract of any kind come to between the Directors and any printing company. There was not only no contract which was binding, there was no understanding that a contract would be come to.

MR. SKINNER said he was very pleased with the reply given, and speaking not only on his own behalf but on behalf of the provincial printers in the country, he wished to express the hope that sufficient capital would be raised to enable the Company to buy their own plant and produce the paper themselves. If the thing was worth doing it was worth doing well; and he had put his questions in no hostile spirit, for he could assure the Conference that the provincial printers were heartily in sympathy with the project. He believed that the paper would be more successful if it could be run on its own bottom from the practical standpoint of production. Therefore he hoped the Directors would be able to see their way to set up their own establishment. His people had been watching the movement carefully and were prepared to take the views of their members as to making a contribution. He was sorry to find that there was not the name of a printer on the Provisional Board of Directors. He thought that was a mistake, but he was pleased to hear that it was only a temporary Board, and presumably there would be an opportunity later on for a practical printer being placed on the Directorate. He recognised that it was possible there might not be a printer who had the necessary money qualification to sit on the Board, but he sincerely hoped that eventually one or more practical printers would be appointed.

MR. JOHN HILL expressed his very great pleasure that they had arrived at the definite point of launching a newspaper. It was important that the scheme should be advertised. Some Trade Unions had already fairly well advertised it and had got support for the venture, such as the members of his own Society had decided to give. What they needed was to have the statement sent right home to the rank and file of every organisation represented at the Conference, and he trusted the Executive would furnish a popular statement containing the principal points that Mr. MacDonald had laid down and making it clear that the paper would be safeguarded and controlled for ever by the Labour Party. The rank and file had been between doubt and fear as to what they were putting their money into, and if they could have the definite assurance that they were putting their money into a paper that for all time would be theirs and would speak for them, he felt sure the financial support asked for would be forthcoming. The relative difference between the newspaper and the strike was very happily expressed by Mr. MacDonald. He believed in the new

old weapon they had dug up again—the right to strike without waiting until the time had gone by. This newspaper was coming in opportunely for they all knew that the lack of spreading all the truth of their position in a dispute had minimised the effect of every strike undertaken.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers) said he thought some effort ought to be made in the course of the next few weeks to see if it were not possible for the people who were representing the *Daily Herald* to give up their venture and throw their lot in with the Party's paper. He did not think it was possible for two papers to exist just now. For the information of the delegates he thought he ought to say, as Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, that at the last meeting of the Committee there was an application from the *Daily Herald* people that the Committee should elect two of its members to their Board. The Committee had agreed and had elected the Secretary, Mr. Bowerman, and Mr. Matkin as their representatives. Some effort ought to be made to unite the two bodies. Something had been said about the success of the German newspapers. They should understand that the Movement there was different to that in Great Britain. The Trade Unions in Germany were practically Social Democratic, and the majority of the organised workers there paid for their paper through their contributions. That was part and parcel of the policy of the German Movement. If this paper was established, out of the 2,000,000 organised workers in this country 200,000 at least ought to pledge themselves to have the paper sent to them every morning. That would ensure the success of the paper, and once it could be proved that it had a large circulation many people would be willing and anxious to insert advertisements just as in other papers.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Society) said he wished to correct a slight inaccuracy in Mr. Thorne's speech with regard to the German newspapers, because it might lead the Conference to think that the chances of the success of this paper depended largely upon the adoption of the German system. As a matter of fact, no paper published by the German Social Democratic Party was sent round to the members in return for any part of their contributions. All the daily papers were run as separate undertakings issued to the general public, and each person had to pay for the paper every time he got one. Mr. Thorne was thinking about the papers issued by the Trade Unions which are sent to the members as part of the benefits for the contributions paid. In Germany the Metal Workers had a paper with a weekly circulation of 450,000, and every week every member received a copy as part of his benefits. He wished to ask the Conference to concentrate itself entirely upon this one venture. They could not afford to waste any effort in putting their money on two horses, because in England, as compared with Germany, they had to

start a newspaper on a big scale if it was to be successful. If Hermann Molkenbuhr were able to tell them in English the history of the German papers he would tell them that they had been able to establish from fifty to sixty daily papers, all of them paying, because in Germany newspapers of the ordinary type had not developed to the extent they had developed in England. There was not the same competition in Germany. There was no desire for sporting news, there was no desire for news about horseracing and football; in fact, the ordinary German newspaper was a very easy thing to produce, and so it was quite possible to start in a small way with a little subsidy from the Party and develop a paying property. That was impossible in this country. They had to strike the public imagination, and they had to compete with tremendous organs quite willing to go a certain way in a particular direction in order to capture the supporters of the Party. He appealed to the Conference not to worry about any other paper for the moment but to concentrate on this businesslike proposal, and then if there seemed to be room for two papers let them have another edition of the paper, run perhaps at a different place, but both advocating the same policy, both standing up for the position of the Labour Party against the other parties. In conclusion, he thought they ought to remember that there had been one man who had forced the question to the front. He wished to finish by naming Mr. Keir Hardie and his efforts in the past to establish a paper.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said there had been references to there being "two Richmonds in the field." There was only one "Richmond" started by one of the national organisations, and he would like to say to those connected with the other "Richmond" that they seemed to be acting a little inconsistently. Had they been carrying out the instructions given by Congress after Congress there would have been no fault to find, but the statement had been made by the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee that that Committee had identified themselves with a purely unofficial Labour venture after they received a deputation from the Labour Party Executive and after they received an invitation to appoint a member on the new Board of Directors. He might go further and say that although that deputation, consisting of Mr. G. H. Roberts and himself, waited upon the Parliamentary Committee, he did not remember that any official intimation was ever received as to the intentions of the Parliamentary Committee. The deputation went in the early part of the previous year when the Executive were seriously facing the spirit of the resolution that had been proposed by the Compositors at the Conference.

MR. W. THORNE said the fact of the deputation was news to him. He knew nothing at all about it.

MR. HENDERSON, resuming, said that it was a fact, and he only desired to show that

while Mr. Thorne was now anxious for some arrangement being come to with the other "Richmond," the other "Richmond" in his (the speaker's) opinion should not have been in the field with the official backing of a national organisation, which had received from its Congress time and time again instructions to promote a daily newspaper.

MR. W. H. TAYLOR (London Society of Compositors) said that for the life of him he could not see why there should be such concern about there being "two Richmonds in the field." It was a reflection on the Trade Union and Labour Movement generally with its enormous membership to suggest that there should be any difficulty about running two papers. His sympathies were generally with the Labour Party's paper, but as Mr. Sanders had pointed out it was quite possible that when this paper was launched there would be room for further editions, and he thought the Party might in conformity with Mr. Thorne's suggestion give its support to the second venture, not immediately perhaps but afterwards. It was a regrettable thing that on the Board of Directors there was not a practical printer. It seemed to him to be a farce to attempt to run a Labour paper without having on the Board of Management a man capable of adjusting matters in connection with the composing department, and there ought also to be a man capable of adjusting questions in relation to the machine department. He hoped the Party would take these matters into serious consideration.

MR. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (Compositors) said he only intervened in order to remove a misapprehension to which Mr. Henderson's remarks might have given rise. Reference had been made to the Parliamentary Committee appointing two of its members to an unofficial Board of Management. He wished to say at once on behalf of that Committee that in appointing two members to take their share in the management of a certain forthcoming daily paper they were not taking sides in the matter. The view of the Committee was that there was ample room, or should be ample room, for two or more Labour papers in this country, and that if one paper was to be produced in Manchester there was no reason why the little village called London should not have a Labour paper of its own. It was perfectly true that Mr. Henderson and Mr. Roberts attended before the Parliamentary Committee. That was many months ago. Since then the *Daily Herald* Management had published their prospectus, and that prospectus came before the Parliamentary Committee with a request to the Committee to consider the propriety of appointing two members on the Board of Management. The Committee agreed to do so, and he took it that they would be quite willing—of course, he could not commit his Committee—that they would be quite prepared to support the other paper just as well. All he wished to make perfectly clear was that in appointing two

members on the Management Board of the *Daily Herald* the Committee were not taking sides against the organ which the Party proposed to start.

MR. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P., said he was charged to raise the question of a daily newspaper at the Trade Union Congress, and therefore he might perhaps be permitted to make one or two observations. When Mr. Henderson and himself attended before the Parliamentary Committee the *Daily Herald* project was also before that body. The Party's scheme was laid before the Committee, but to the best of his knowledge no response whatever had been received. But when it was known that the Committee had appointed two of its members to the Board of Management of the other project then they were bound to interpret that action as a sign of favouring the other scheme as against the one submitted by the Labour Party. At the Trade Union Congress he sought to argue against the possibility of a daily newspaper being started with such a small capital as £5,000, and he felt that the Parliamentary Committee in having given official sanction to a scheme that had not the possibilities of success in it had done something—maybe unintentionally—to mislead the Trade Unionists of the country. There was room in the country for a number of Labour newspapers but they were not assured that there was support for a number. Furthermore, he felt that Mr. Sanders had sounded the best business note when he suggested the possibility of development lying in localised editions of this centralised paper. To have two schemes competing for capital, two schemes involving two distinct sets of expenditure, was not an economic form of meeting the necessities of the movement at this juncture, and therefore he was of opinion that the movement ought to concentrate upon the scheme which appeared to possess real possibilities of success, and say to the other friends that their co-operation ought to be thrown in with the scheme also and that they ought to cease pursuing their own venture further. Respecting the management, he found himself in hearty agreement with certain of the opinions already expressed, but he ought to say on behalf of those with whom he was associated that the present Board was but temporary in character. It had been necessary to make some specific arrangements in order that the Company might be promoted, but those organisations which were of opinion that the presence of a practical printer on the Board was necessary should throw in their lot with the movement and make their voices heard in the matter. He unhesitatingly commended the scheme of the Labour Party. He felt they ought to concentrate upon it because a number of schemes meant a frittering away of energy and economic resource. With one scheme they ought to raise sufficient capital to allow them to instal their own plant and conduct their own business without any hampering and embarrassing attachment to any other body or party.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P., asked whether the Executive had received an official communication from the *Daily Herald* people asking them to elect two of their members to sit upon the Board; and whether the promoters of the *Daily Citizen* had invited the Parliamentary Committee officially to select representatives to sit on their Board.

MR. MACDONALD, replying, said they did receive such a communication from the *Daily Herald* people, but being business men they did not see that any good but a great deal of harm would result if the Labour Party officially backed that paper. They went into facts and details. It would have mixed up the whole business; it would have hampered the raising of capital; it would have confused the Movement if there were two prospectuses going out, both backed by the same people, both asking for subscriptions, and so on. As a matter of fact, no one thinking the matter over would thank the Labour Party for confusing the issue. With regard to the second part of the question, the Newspaper Committee asked the Parliamentary Committee if it would agree to have a representative on the Board of Directors. The Newspaper Committee were prepared to put at the disposal of the Parliamentary Committee one of the three places that were being given to Trade Unions. The same offer was made to the Management Committee of the General Federation. The answer from the latter body was that their position was such that they could not see their way to accept the proposal. Up to that moment the Parliamentary Committee had not seen their way to reply.

MR. W. THORNE asked when the communication was sent.

MR. MACDONALD said that the Parliamentary Committee's own official Report, without a date, said (Mr. MacDonald quoted):

"Since then (that meant, said Mr. MacDonald, the approaching of the Committee by the *Daily Herald* people) a communication had been received from the Labour Party, making a similar request on behalf of a committee formed for the purpose of starting a daily paper, the intention being to constitute a limited liability company, with a nominal capital of £150,000, should the promises of support be sufficient to warrant them in going forward."

MR. H. H. ELVIN (Clerks) asked what was the difference between the A, B, C, and D shares. Would the control of the paper be entirely in the hands of the A and B shareholders? And was he to understand that the B shareholders would have no voice in the policy of the paper although they might be members of the Board. He would also like to know who Mr. W. E. Balston, who had been appointed a Director, was.

MR. MACDONALD, replying, said that in the prospectus they would find that D shares would only confer on the holders the right to vote at a General Meeting upon some or one of the questions following, that was to

say, as to reduction of capital, as to winding up the Company, as to sanctioning a sale of the undertaking, or as to altering the Regulations of the Company so as to affect directly the rights of the holders of D shares, and so on. The whole policy of the paper would be controlled by the holders of A, B, and C shares, that was the "official" shareholders, not the individual shareholders but the shareholders who held shares as representatives of Trade Unions and Socialist organisations. With reference to the question about the director, Mr. Balston was a very old friend of the Party, and he was surprised that any delegate present did not know of his support of the Movement.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners) said that in common with other large organisations the Miners' Federation had had a visit from Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson who had put before the Executive of the whole mining movement the principles upon which it was proposed to run the newspaper. The Miners, however, had been fairly busy for some weeks, and he regretted to say that they had not been able to consider the question of investing a portion of their funds in the newspaper. The delegates at the Conference had decided to agree to the proposal of the Labour Party Executive that a certain part of the Party's funds should be put into the venture, and that was an indication, at any rate, of how the miners felt regarding the concern. It had been pointed out that Liberal and Tory papers were not too scrupulous with regard to the Trade Union and Labour Movement generally. He wished to say that the Labour press also was not too scrupulous in gathering information. Recently the miners had, unfortunately, considerable reason for doubting the wisdom of running a Labour press. In some cases—he did not think it could be inadvertent—attacks had been made on the leaders of the miners' movement. The leaders of the miners, himself among them, had not replied to those attacks because they felt that when in the face of a common enemy it was a bad time to divide themselves. He had a feeling at first that that might be one of the arguments against the establishment of a Labour paper, but the conclusion he had come to was that it was the strongest argument for the establishment of a paper under the control of their own Party. If leaders were attacked they would have the opportunity at such a meeting as the Conference to bring those responsible to book. The Conference might rest assured that the miners would give the matter earnest consideration as soon as possible.

#### RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PARTY FINANCES.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., said that as the result of Payment of Members it was necessary for the Party to consider whether it should continue on the old lines, running its Parliamentary Fund and its General Fund separately. It had also to consider the increase in the number of injunctions made against affiliated societies. From evidence in the possession of the Executive, they had come to

the conclusion that the time had arrived when the whole business basis of the Party should be rearranged. The Executive's recommendations were, therefore, that there should be one Fund instead of two, and that they should charge an all-round contribution of 1d. per member per year. Objections to the proposals had been raised outside that if the money came in on the old basis there were ample opportunities for spending it in the direction of developing the organisation of the Party. So far as the Executive was concerned, if the Conference felt disposed to continue the old arrangement—being satisfied that, having regard to the Payment of Members and the Osborne Judgment, the rank and file were prepared to continue as before, which the Executive had reason to believe was doubtful—he could assure the Conference that the Executive would spend the money. But he felt sure that had the Executive not brought forward a Report on the matter, delegates—the same men probably who had been raising objections to the proposals—would have asked why the Executive had not done so. The Executive had to keep in mind the very serious position in which some of the Unions were placed. It might be said that the injunctions were making very little difference and he hoped that those present connected with injunctioned societies, who knew the position of their Unions before and since the injunctions, would be prepared to take part in the debate and explain the exact position. It might also be said that the amount asked for, 1d. per member, was not very much. It was not; but they had to keep in mind what the great body of members were already paying altogether. Owing to depression members of some Unions were paying double their ordinary contributions in the shape of levies. Some were paying 1s. 6d., 2s., and 2s. 6d. per week to their Unions alone, to say nothing of other payments. The Executive after consideration had come to the conclusion that it would be better to encourage the great body of affiliated societies to pay 1d. per member rather than to have a more limited number paying 2d. per member as had been the case in the last year or two since the injunctions. He sincerely hoped that the proposals would be given a trial and if it was found that a mistake had been made, that too little was being asked for, then they would have to come again and ask for an increase.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. (I.L.P.) moved—

*That the paragraph be referred back.*

He said that the whirligig of time brought very great changes. The first time he heard Mr. Henderson speak was at the Newcastle Conference eleven years previous, and he made an eloquent and impressive speech in moving a resolution that every affiliated member of the Party should pay 1s. a year for the purpose of organising the forces of the Labour Movement. He would do Mr. Henderson the justice to say that he put a great deal more earnestness and enthusiasm into that appeal than he had to the recom-

mendations he had just submitted. There were three reasons that might be suggested in support of the recommendations. First of all, that the present affiliation fee of 2d. per member per year was too much and beyond the means of the organisations and of their individual members. Secondly, that the amount that would be raised would be sufficient to do the work of the Party. The third possible reason might be that the Executive were convinced that the Party had reached the limits of its expansion, and that the amount of money raised under the reduced contributions would be sufficient to meet all the work of the Party in the future. With regard to the first of these possible contentions, that the affiliated members were not able to pay 2d. per year, he knew there were certain affiliated organisations where the members did pay and had paid much more than 2d. per member. He believed there were some organisations where a Parliamentary levy of 1s. per year was made; but there were a considerable number of Unions where the only contribution paid for the upkeep of the Labour Movement, for the fighting of elections and, in the past, for the support of Labour Members in Parliament, had been a paltry contribution of 2d. per member; and if the Executive's proposals were adopted there would be a very considerable part of the membership of the Party who would not be paying more than 1d. per year altogether. Mr. Henderson had raised the point that they had to get the penny per member by means of voluntary contributions. That raised further points. First, that they did not expect to get the Osborne decision reversed; that in the future they would have to rely on voluntary contributions towards the income of the Party. The second point it raised was that they could not raise more than 1d. per member by means of voluntary contributions. If that was so, then the Labour Party was not worth the trouble. In the enthusiasm of the members for Labour Representation, translated into financial sacrifice, was not worth more than 1d. per member per year, then it was not a faith and enthusiasm upon which a great force was going to be built up. The German Social Democratic Party—that wonderful organisation, reference to whose electoral victories had been made—had not been built up and was not supported by a contribution of 1d. per member. The I.L.P. had not done its work and become such an influence in politics by a contribution of 1d. per member. Surely that was no argument in support of the proposal to reduce the contributions. The second point was that it seemed to be assumed that the revenue which could be raised under the reduced contributions would be sufficient to meet the needs of the Party. Would it? They were not going to increase the number of Members in Parliament and they were not going to maintain the present Parliamentary Representation unless far more attention was paid to the important work of organisation in the constituencies. What was proposed in the recommendations? That there should be

a subsidy of one quarter of the cost of maintaining a permanent organiser in the constituency, and all that was proposed to set aside for that and for contributing the Party's share of the Returning Officers' Expenses was £2,500 a year. Supposing there were a hundred constituencies represented by Labour Members or where they hoped to have a Labour Member, £2,000 was to be set aside towards Returning Officers' Expenses, and therefore there would be only £500 a year left to subsidise the permanent organisers and to do all the other propaganda work. What did they think it cost the Liberal and Tory parties to keep up their organisations? He ventured to say that there was not a Liberal or Tory organisation which was kept up on less than £400 or £500 a year. It was assumed that on less than £50 a year they were going to build up an organisation in a constituency which would be a competitor to that of the other parties. It was absurd and would not bear a moment's consideration. The incidence of the cost of the Labour Party fell unfairly. Some were contributing practically nothing to the expense of elections. The cost fell far too heavily on those organisations which had the enthusiasm to promote Labour Representation and on those constituencies where a candidate was returned. It must be remembered, too, that the candidates were returned, not as representatives of constituencies alone, but as representatives of the whole Labour Movement. Therefore the cost should not be put upon a section of the Movement but upon the Movement as a whole. With regard to the third point, they all hoped to see the time when the Party would be the dominating force in British politics, and therefore they must prepare for it. They must have nothing incorporated in their constitution which would create the impression that they had reached the limit of expansion. He spoke on behalf of the I.L.P., and it had been said that that Party had more to gain by the maintenance of the existing scale of contributions. The I.L.P. stood eighth in the list of affiliated organisations in proportion to contributions. He did not think there was a single member of the I.L.P. who paid less than 6s. a year. He wished to remind the Trade Unionists that the propaganda work of the Labour Movement had been done by the I.L.P. Therefore, they had no selfish motives in supporting the deletion of the paragraph. The Party should have a sound economic basis, and the Party was not going to be built on a sound financial basis if the contributions of the members were to be limited to a paltry penny per year.

MRI. HENDERSON said he was sure Mr. Snowden did not intentionally misrepresent his position in Newcastle. What he did at Newcastle was to propose: "That the payment be 4d. instead of 1d." He proposed that in view of the liability of £200 a year for the Members of Parliament.

MRI. J. CROSS (Textile Workers) said the recommendations opened out a large avenue

for greatly increased expenses. There was at the present time a fair amount of voluntary work and good work done by agents in the constituencies. The Liberal and Tory Parties found that the cost of agents was very great, and he was afraid that the proposal would handicap the Movement as time went on. He would suggest that the matter be referred back to the Executive for further consideration.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said he was authorised to state on behalf of those of his colleagues with whom there had been an opportunity of consultation that they were prepared to accept the reference back of the paragraph, but he was also bound to warn the delegates that in taking the paragraph back it must not be assumed that the Executive accepted the suggestion that more substantial help should be given to local bodies in fighting elections than was proposed in the paragraph. He felt certain that if the delegates could see the pressure that was brought to bear on the Executive from certain quarters that had not yet won their spurs they would see that the Executive would be misleading them if any such action was contemplated. The paragraph would be taken back with an open mind, but certainly with the intention of asking the Conference to supply more funds than were originally asked for.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dockers) said he had every respect for Mr. Snowden's abilities and his speech had evidently had some effect. Mr. Snowden had talked about the economic basis. He (the speaker) could in a few minutes prove that Mr. Snowden's economic basis was not only unsound but rotten. Mr. Snowden was very heroic in asking the members to pay 4d. or a 1s. He wished they could. The Trade Unions were having to pay to the Trade Union Congress, to the Federation of Trades, and to the Labour Party. In addition, the industry he represented had its own Federation to subscribe to. Then there were local Trades Councils and L.R.C.'s, and local I.L.P.'s, all wanting support. On top of all that there was the twentieth century blessing known as the Insurance Act. The financial strain was absolutely too much to bear. If Mr. Snowden would suggest that the National Party take over the control of local affairs and that all the contributions to local bodies should be sent to headquarters then there would be some reason to expect the Conference to vote in the direction Mr. Snowden desired. Mr. Snowden's comparison with the Tory and Liberal Parties was odious—financially odious. He was comparing a man with £1 a week with a millionaire who was giving his money for the purpose of business. He (the speaker) was not much concerned whether the contributions were 1d. or 2d., but he did say that Mr. Snowden's arguments were unsound.

MR. J. H. STANDRING (I.L.P.) said he expected that instead of a proposal to reduce contributions there would have been a proposal to increase them. He would like

to remind Mr. Sexton that not only did the members of the I.L.P. pay 6d. a month to that organisation but also paid through their Trade Unions the same rates of contributions. He did the Executive the justice to believe that they were not in sympathy with their own proposals. There was reason to believe that the fear in their minds was that some Unions would find it necessary to leave the Party if they were asked to increase their contributions.

THE CHAIRMAN said that as the Executive had expressed their willingness to take the paragraph back it did not need any further discussion. If it was going to be discussed then the statement would be withdrawn and the matter would be fought out. The wise plan was to accept the Executive's statement and then it might be that the Standing Orders Committee would report on the situation.

The motion to refer back was then put and there voted

For . . .	1,292,000
Against . . .	275,000

and it was declared carried.

#### PERSONAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY.

MR. A. SHORT (Sheffield Trades Council) moved—

*That the paragraph be deleted.*

He opposed the recommendation because he thought it was a great departure from the original principle of the Party. There was no credit attaching to personal membership of such a Party. If those persons could not ally themselves with a Trade Union or one of the affiliated Socialist Societies he did not think they should be encouraged to join in any other way. They wanted men in the Movement who recognised the value of their principles, men who were prepared to come out into the open as accredited members either of Trade Unions or Socialist Societies.

MR. J. BRUCE GLASIER (I.L.P.) said it was rather regrettable that there had been no statement from the platform in justification of the proposal, because it was awkward to object to certain proposals and then discover afterwards that there might be reasons urged for their adoption. He believed the Executive had made the proposal in absolutely good faith, but, nevertheless, on behalf of the I.L.P. he asked the Conference to reject it. The Labour Party was a federation of organisations. It was not a federation of branches; it was a federation of national organisations. No branch of itself could join the Party, and yet they were being asked to affiliate individuals. That was a thing not to be contemplated. It might be true that there were some men and women who were not eligible for Trade Unions or Socialist organisations, but who were in sympathy with the objects of the Labour Party. There might be members of organisations which have not come into the Party who desired of themselves to join. They should spend their energies in getting

their organisations affiliated. If the proposal was to admit rich men as such, he was against it and he hoped the Conference was also. They must maintain the Party as an essentially working-class organisation. In the I.L.P. they had a national branch of the Party. Individuals who could not join a local branch joined the national branch, but the difference was that the I.L.P. had an absolute confession of faith. No one could join the I.L.P. unless they were absolutely for Socialism and Labour Representation; but the Labour Party had no confession of faith, no programme, no means of giving testimony to a whole-hearted support of the principles of the Party. He hoped the Party would consist only of organised men and women who would know each other, who would be under discipline, and would know the responsibility of carrying on the organisation.

MR. W. C. ROBINSON (Textile Workers) said that as one of the sub-committee that drew up the proposal he hoped the Conference would accept it. They recognised that there were many people who were in sympathy with the Movement who could not possibly become Trade Unionists, could not become members of any affiliated organisation, and could not as yet become Socialists; but if it was desired that they should become Socialists then there should be an avenue provided for them. A Trade Union might decide to leave the Party. That decision shut out every one of the members, but it ought not to shut them out. The minority ought to have a right to become associates and to support the Party. The Party needed all the support it could get. He could assure the Conference that the Executive would not accept anyone in whom they had no confidence as to his independence and sympathy with the Movement. They would not make associates wholesale, irrespective of any enquiry. He believed that at the present time the I.L.P. took subscriptions from outsiders, and he believed further that a great many of the local Labour Parties made provision for admitting associates. Why prevent the national body? All they wanted was that people could come into the Party when there was no other avenue for them.

MR. H. KEEN (Operative Bakers) supported the deletion of the paragraph as it would open the door to men who had not the interests of the Party at heart, and who would seek to divert the energies of the Party in the interests of the employing class.

COUNCILLOR J. H. PALIN (Bradford Trades Council) said the Executive would be condemned from the mouth of Mr. Robinson. It had been said that Trade Unionists could not afford to pay 1s. a year. Mr. Robinson now said that in order to make provision for minorities of Trade Unions that seceded they should be given the privilege of paying 5s. a year as associates. That was absurd. The object of the proposal was to get lukewarm sympathisers, but if they were worth anything at all they would be prepared to

join one or other of the affiliated organisations. If the basis of the Fabian Society was not wide enough they should keep out altogether.

MR. A. F. JOHNSON (Postmen's Federation) opposed the recommendation, because he believed there was a much easier way out of the difficulty than the one proposed. Whilst being in sympathy with the idea that every man who so desired should be able to link himself with the Labour Movement, he believed that a true expression of fidelity could only be obtained by getting a definite pledge from the individual. That was not in the proposal. He suggested that there should be a national branch so that a man who could not otherwise become a member of the Party might join it and be on exactly the same footing as members of affiliated societies. It had been suggested that in the case of a Union seceding it ought to be possible for the minority still to give its adherence. But in the case of an organisation deciding to affiliate, would they give the opposing minority the right to remain out?

MR. JOHN HODGE, M.P., said he wished to correct two mis-statements regarding the paragraph. Men who had been expelled from an affiliated organisation could not become associates, so that there was no chance of renegades joining. It had also been said that the associates would influence the policy of the Party. The paragraph stated that all they would get in exchange for their contributions would be the literature of the Party in order that they might be kept informed as to the policy of the Party. Even if the associate was an opponent or only half-hearted in the Movement it was a good thing to take such an opponent's money to promote their own cause.

MR. J. CRINION (Textile Workers) asked whether the Party issued any private literature.

MR. MACDONALD replied in the negative.

MR. CRINION further asked whether the people expected to join as associates could not get the literature in any case.

MR. MACDONALD, in reply, said the difficulty was that they had to make individual application. The proposal was that if they paid the subscription their names would go down on the list and everything the Party issued would go automatically to them. They would get nothing that was issued privately.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P., asked whether it was not a fact that there was an arrangement in existence by which any subscriber paying an annual subscription of 3s. should be supplied with all the literature.

MR. MACDONALD said that that was quite true, but the Executive wanted to put it in a more satisfactory condition.

The motion that the paragraph be deleted was put and declared carried.

## RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PARTY FINANCES.

### RECOMMENDATION FROM STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. T. GREENALL reported a recommendation from the Standing Orders Committee that a resolution on the above subject should be submitted to the Conference, because it was absolutely necessary that some definite action should be taken.

The recommendation was agreed to.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., moved the following :—

That during the current year the income of the Party from all sources shall be put into one Fund from which all expenses incurred by the Party will be paid, and that the whole matter be the subject of a Report to the next Conference.

He said the resolution was absolutely essential because the Parliamentary Fund could only be devoted to certain purposes. The Conference must therefore give the Executive liberty to use the money for other purposes as required, and the Executive would bring the whole matter up at the next Conference.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., said it was an unbusinesslike way of achieving the end in view, and suggested that the motion be deferred because certain resolutions on the Agenda contained everything that was necessary with only one very slight alteration.

It was moved and seconded—

*That the motion be adjourned until the next morning.*

COUNCILLOR EGERTON P. WAKE (Barrow Labour Party) supporting the adjournment, said that there were resolutions on the Agenda which dealt with the disposal of the funds and also with regard to the money to be released, and before the matter was closed the Conference should have an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the points in the Agenda.

The adjournment motion was put and declared carried.

The Conference at this stage adjourned.

## RESIGNATION OF THE SECRETARY

Upon the Conference resuming,

MR. W. C. ROBINSON said that the Executive, in incorporating this paragraph in their Report, were of opinion that it would be a calamity to the Party if they were to lose the splendid ability of Mr. MacDonald, and they felt that it would be a wise action on the part of the Conference to accept the recommendation. Up to the present the Treasurer had been elected by the Executive. The proposal now was that in future he should be elected by the Conference any affiliated society having, of course, the power to nominate. Mr. MacDonald had been the engineer of the Movement and the Executive were trying to make an exceptional circum-

stance fit in with an exceptional condition. He hoped the Conference would accept the proposal.

The paragraph was agreed to.

MR. W. C. ROBINSON consequently moved

*That Mr. MacDonald be the Treasurer.*

The motion was formally seconded, put and declared carried.

The following consequential amendments to the Constitution were then formally adopted :

### CLAUSE V.

The clause as it stood was as follows :—

#### V.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive shall consist of fifteen members, eleven representing the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, Women's Organisations, and Local Labour Parties, and three the Socialist Societies, and shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Conference by their respective sections.

#### AMENDMENTS :

*Line 2 : Alter "fifteen" to "sixteen."*

*Line 6 : Alter "and" to "who." Add at the end "and the Treasurer who shall also be elected by the Conference."*

### CLAUSE VI.

The clause as it stood was as follows :—

#### VI.—DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive Committee shall

1.—Appoint a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer, and shall transact the general business of the Party;

2.—Issue a list of its Candidates from time to time, and recommend them for the support of the electors;

3.—Take all necessary steps to maintain this Constitution;

4.—All its members shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party.

#### AMENDMENT :

*Line 2 : Insert the word "and" after the word "Chairman," and delete the words "and Treasurer."*

## GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

### LABOUR UNREST.

MR. T. RICHARDSON, M.P. (I.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

*That this Conference welcomes the growing discontent amongst the people which has been shown in the recent labour disputes. It congratulates those Unions which were able to obtain increased wages and better conditions for their members, and also those women who, though not themselves wage-earners, have stood shoulder to shoulder with those struggling for better conditions. It trusts that all Trade Unions will continue their activities to organise the workers of the United Kingdom, and to promote a stern fight for a more humane industrial and social life. In fur-*

*therance of this end, the Conference heartily supports the Parliamentary Labour Party in claiming that at least 30s. per week is necessary to maintain a family in decency and comfort.*

He said it would be very fitting for the Conference to make a note of the fact that there had been during the previous twelve months a manifest spirit not only of unrest but of revolt on the part of a large section of the industrial toilers. Every delegate would welcome that spirit of unrest, and more or less also that spirit of revolt. To him that unrest and discontent spoke with eloquence and power, and it would be a source of very great satisfaction to them all to know that there had been won from the wealthy classes at least another instalment and a larger share of the wealth that had been withheld from those who produced it. It was only right that reference should be made to the women. It was pleasing to note that their sisters, and in some cases their mothers and wives had taken part in and were part of the Trade Union Movement, and that in some cases they, too, had won substantial advantages during the previous twelve months. Many of the women folk were among the worst paid workers in the country, and the spirit of revolt and strong determination they had manifested brought a large measure of hope as to the future of the workers. The resolution also emphasised the importance of the organised workers, especially the leaders of the Trade Union Movement, perfecting their industrial organisation, and whilst he was glad to learn from the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee that there had been an increase in the ranks of Trade Unions of 250,000, men and women, he hoped they would also remember that outside there still remained a large army of unorganised men and women. It ought to be the immediate purpose of the leaders to apply themselves with all the diligence and all the determination of which they were capable to bring every man and woman into the Trade Union Movement. The resolution also invited the Conference to endorse the principles of a minimum wage, and to express its approval of the Parliamentary Party in moving a resolution in the House of Commons. The principle of a minimum wage was being forced upon the attention of both employers and employed and there was an increasingly large volume of public opinion behind the demand for its recognition. The resolution stated that the minimum should be 30s., and he hoped the Conference would be unanimous on that point. Whilst the day might be far distant when they could insist upon a minimum of 30s., he hoped that the combined efforts of the industrial and political forces of the Labour and Socialist Movement would be directed to win for the toilers the recognition of the principle, and that the wage would be such as would secure not only physical well-being but would give reasonable opportunity for intellectual, moral and spiritual development for man, woman and child.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League), seconding the resolution, said she wished to point out to the Conference, composed as it was almost entirely of men, the section in the resolution which dealt with women who were not wage-earners. They had all of them heard of the magnificent spirit of the men and women who struck in the recent disputes, but they must always remember that behind those men and behind those women who were strikers there were the wives and mothers who were waiting at home and who knew that during the strike there would be no money. It was the women who were guarding the empty cupboards who bore the weight of the strikes. Those women stood staunchly by their men, encouraged them firmly, and helped to win the struggle. Those women could not be organised in Trade Unions. The work they followed—the work of mothers and of wives—could not be organised. She wished to express the importance of the work done by the Women's Labour League in getting the women to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men of the Movement in order to ensure decent conditions in the future.

MR. C. T. CRAMP (Railway Servants), supported the resolution, although he wished the latter part had included a 48-hour week, because a wage might be raised to 30s. a week, but if the man worked 13 or 15 hours a day the wage would be a poor one.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (I.L.P.) agreed that the two proposals might have been linked together but he thought an opportunity of discussing the other important question would come before the Conference. They desired by law to establish a living wage for every family in the country. He believed the question of a living wage had been the motive force behind all the labour upheavals. For a period of years wages had been standing still or actually going down whilst the cost of living had been going up. They ought to be glad that the mass of the workers were getting more ashamed of their poverty and were making a firm demand for a fair share of all the good things of life.

MR. W. H. QUINN (Bookbinders) said that while agreeing with the principle contained in the resolution they must not forget that there were other tendencies which would minimise the effect of the principle if it was established. There was a tendency in the direction of Americanising British industry. There was a speeding up of machinery and a speeding up of men, and consequently there was a greater amount of unrest in the workshop at the present time than there had been in the history of British industry. The establishment of a minimum wage would have a tendency still further to speed up the men, and workmen must organise to prevent the increase in tyranny and pressure in the workshop.

The resolution was put and agreed to unanimously.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) moved the following :—

*That this Conference expresses its indignation at the repressive policy towards Trade Unionism which the present Government has persisted in, and views with alarm the proposals which, in pursuance of this policy, are being made to secure what is called "industrial peace." The Conference also asserts that the right to strike is the one thing which distinguishes the free workman from the chattel slave, and that right must be jealously guarded, and every attempt to impair it must be energetically resisted.*

He said he did not suppose that any of the delegates would be over anxious to use the weapon of the strike. They only regarded it as a weapon to be resorted to at the last ; but in order that the weapon should be useful they must have the right to use it. During the previous twelve months there had been open and insidious attempts on the part of the Government and of the Judges to filch away the power of the strike. Men had been fined for leaving work in breach of so-called agreements. During a strike the pickets were chivvied from pavement to roadway and if they showed the slightest resentment they were liable to arrest. It appeared to him that they were likely to be cornered once more, and even if the Trade Disputes Act remained in operation, without a letter altered, steps were being taken which would eventually make the Act of extremely little use. Then there was the new Industrial Council. He did not wish to say anything that might be controversial but he wished that no one in the Movement had identified themselves with that Council. He did not like the idea of having to give six months' or even three months' notice of the right to strike. They ought to maintain the principle that when a man's ordinary term of service was ended he ought to be able to down tools. The Government had also proposed the enrolment of special constables, and the capitalists had gone one better and proposing that there should not merely be special constables under the official authorities but that they should have special constables of their own : a sort of "Pinkerton" gang to assist in cudgelling the Trade Unionists. It was just as well to point out to the Government that chickens were coming home to roost, and that the very thing they had allowed without protest to be suggested in this country in connection with industrial disputes was now likely to be played off on them by Carson and others in Belfast. He hoped Mr. Churchill, the late Home Secretary, and Mr. McKenna, the present Home Secretary, would relish the joke. He hoped there would be a unanimous protest against all such insidious measures to limit or effectively to prevent the right to strike.

MR. H. H. ELVIN (Clerks), in seconding, said that no doubt the Conference would be surprised at a clerk advocating the right to strike. It had always been considered that clerks were of the jellyfish order. He sup-

posed that the employers held the clerks more in contempt than any other section of the working classes. Some of the clerks felt this contempt very keenly and would hasten the day when employers had less contempt and far more respect for their clerical employees. He felt that the right to strike was a very important thing that clerks should realise.

MR. J. HALLSWORTH (Eccles Labour Party) supported the resolution, but not because he believed that the strike was the last resort, as stated by the mover. He believed that there were times—and they would happen more frequently in the future—when the strike would have to be resorted to in the first instance. The members of the various Watch Committees were making deliberate plans for the suppression of strikes in the future, and the Conference should say that they viewed such action with resentment.

MR. A. BELLAMY (Railway Servants) said there were two facts in connection with the recent railway dispute that he wished to mention in respect to the first part of the resolution. Their attention had been called to what the Prime Minister had said to the railway delegates, but he desired to call attention to the fact that on the Wednesday before it was decided to strike the Government gave an assurance to the companies that they would help them if the men came out. Shortly after the national strike there was a strike in Ireland and the Government not only used the Royal Engineers to protect the goods and passengers, but also had them taught the road and trains were actually worked by them. He hoped the proposals submitted for the linking up of industries would be accepted, and if that were done he would not care twopence for any law compelling the workers to work for it would be a very difficult job to carry it out. The Parliamentary Party should not only register a protest in the House of Commons, but the Movement generally should register their protest in the ballot box.

The resolution was put and agreed to unanimously.

TRADE DISPUTES ACT.

COUNCILLOR J. H. PALIN (Bradford Trades Council) moved the following :—

*That this Conference enters its emphatic protest against the attempts which are being made by Chambers of Commerce and similar bodies for the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, and that the Labour Party in the House of Commons be instructed to resist any attempt to repeal the same, as in the opinion of this Conference the present Act is sufficiently strong in its provisions for the maintenance of law and order during a dispute. We also are of opinion that the efforts now being put forth to repeal the 1906 Act are a sinister attempt on the part of Capitalism to destroy Trades Unionism.*

He said the resolution was a corollary of the previous one. Since the railway strike efforts were being made to secure an amendment of the Trade Disputes Act. There was another

resolution on the agenda on the same subject but there was a fundamental difference between that and the one he was moving. They were there as a Labour Party having faith and confidence in Parliamentary methods, but if they were going to declare upon every mortal issue that arose that a General Strike would be called, then he believed that very few people would take any notice of their resolutions. He objected to that declaration in the other resolution and that was why the Conference should not have a composite resolution brought before them. The Movement should not wait until the other people had completed their plans before beginning to formulate their own. Already in Yorkshire the whole of the Trades Councils had been called together and plans had been laid for holding a campaign in favour of the principle for which the Parliamentary Party fought so strongly at the beginning of its existence. But if they were going to say that so soon as a Bill to amend the Trade Disputes Act which seemed likely to become law was introduced into the House of Commons they would have a General Strike, few people would credit them with possessing that common sense that had characterised the Movement in the past.

MR. SCHLOESSER (Ealing L.R.C.) seconded, and pointed out that presumably by an error in drafting, the 1906 Act actually repealed the express permission given by the 1875 Act to communicate information by pickets, though, of course, it legalised peaceful picketing generally. One of the consequences, therefore, of the repeal of the 1906 Act, as it would not revive the repealed proviso of the 1875 Act, which had permitted the communication of information, would be to make picketing less lawful than it had been since 1875. In his opinion, the effect of the repeal of the 1906 Act, coupled with the decision in *Lyons v. Wilkins*, would probably be to make all picketing illegal.

COUNCILLOR T. H. FATHERS (Birmingham L.R.C.) moved the following amendment:

That in view of the efforts being made at the present time by Benches of Magistrates, Chambers of Commerce, and other capitalist organisations to take away from the workers the right to picket during a strike, this Conference calls upon the various Trade Unions and other Labour organisations to organise such a counter move as may be effective to meet the organised attempt to filch from the workers their right under the Trade Union Acts, and suggests that the whole of the United Kingdom be organised into convenient centres, with responsible executives, so that should any Bill be presented in the House of Commons with any hope of its being passed into law, a General Strike may be declared, with a view to compelling its immediate withdrawal.

Further, that the Labour Party in the House resist in every possible manner any attempt to curtail the workers' right to strike, and in order to give effect to this resolution, the Executive Committee be

instructed to requisition a meeting of the Joint Board, who shall draw up a plan of action, and submit the same to all the societies which are affiliated with any of the three National Labour Committees, so that all may be ready should a strike be necessary.

He regretted that they had been unable to agree to a composite resolution and so had rendered an amendment necessary. He regarded the resolution as a pious one only. He asked the Labour Party in Parliament to do something, which they might be perfectly willing to do, and yet unable to do, and there the matter rested, after suggesting that there was a sinister attempt on the part of Capitalism to destroy Trade Unionism. The Birmingham L.R.C. were of opinion that if the right of peaceful picketing was taken away they might as well say good-bye to Trade Unionism. During the recent railway dispute a fine tribute was paid by the Birmingham press on the manner in which the pickets had assisted the police and the public generally to maintain law and order. That was a good point to make when it was suggested that peaceful picketing had a tendency to provoke revolt and violence. The Chambers of Commerce and, generally speaking, the magistrates, were using the disturbances that had occurred and which had been created by others than the pickets, to carry resolutions asking Parliament to put a stop to peaceful picketing. The amendment he was moving sought to set up machinery to cope with any situation arising out of the agitation for the repeal of the Act.

MR. A. GOULD (Hull Trades Council) seconded the amendment, which pointed out the way in which the attacks of the propertied classes on the desires and aspirations of the Labour Movement could be defeated. Would it not be far better for them to declare a General Strike if an attempt was made to touch the right to picket? A case of the harsh decision of a magistrate against a picket in Hull was brought to the attention of the Parliamentary Party, but no action was taken. If it was impossible for the Party to get justice in the House of Commons against the biased decisions of magistrates, then if a Bill to abolish picketing was introduced the only weapon to resort to was the strike.

MR. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P. (Typographical Association) said he did not think the question of the right to strike was really involved in the resolution or the amendment. He was certain that the Labour Party would defend that right to the utmost. He wished to make a few observations in support of the resolution and against the amendment. It was designed in the amendment that if an attempt was made in the House of Commons to repeal or modify the Trade Disputes Act they should meet it by declaring a General Strike. Mr. Palin had pointed out the anomaly of a political body passing such a resolution. He thought they had a right to expect their representatives in the House of Commons to conduct that part of the fight for them. He was sure that if the present

or any other Government proposed such a measure it would arouse such resentment in the country, backing up the Labour Members, that the Government could not possibly retain office. It struck him as being very curious for a Birmingham body to move a resolution in favour of a General Strike. It was just as easy to get men to vote as to strike; and if they failed to get the workers to vote right he had his own ideas as to whether they could be got to strike when called upon. He felt that the Birmingham workers would be more effectually safeguarding Trade Unionists if they strengthened the number and influence of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. Nevertheless, there were strong and insistent endeavours being made to deprive the Trade Unions of the right they had won by political action, and therefore it was fitting that the Conference should make an emphatic declaration on the matter, so that the Government might fully understand that if they gave ear to any such proposal they might count upon the united Labour Movement turning them out of office without consideration or compunction. He knew he was speaking the opinion of organised Labour on this matter, and he felt it would be better if they had a straightforward pronouncement as embodied in the motion rather than that there should be a divided opinion owing to the doubt in many people's minds as to the advisability of recourse to a General Strike. What they had to do as a political body was to strengthen their representation, extend their influence, and direct attention rather away from strikes and more to the causes of those strikes, and compel Governments to give social reform on the lines desired.

The amendment was put and defeated; and the resolution was thereupon put and declared carried.

#### THE OSBORNE DECISION.

MR. A. SHORT (Sheffield Trades Council) moved the following:—

*That as Trade Unions have had the right, by a forty years' custom prior to the Osborne decision, to levy themselves for Labour Representation, we instruct the Labour Party Executive to take immediate action to obtain the complete reversal of that judgment and restore to Trade Unions the right to levy themselves for the support of direct representatives in Parliament and on public boards, should they so decide by a majority vote of their members.*

He said he held the opinion that the Parliamentary Party had not brought fully to the notice of the public their desire for the complete reversal of the Osborne decision. He thought that the Party in its desire to support other measures of a questionable character, in its desire and eagerness to accept the battle-cries of the Liberal Party, had unfortunately kept in the background the alternatives of the Labour Movement. The resolution would encourage the Party to press forward the policy of the Movement and demand the reversal of the Osborne decision, which was essential to success.

COUNCILLOR J. CAVEY (Wigan L.R.C.) seconded, and said that there seemed to be an impression that the matter was being allowed to slide. That impression ought to be removed and they ought to show their determination to keep pegging away until the decision was reversed. The decision was having a more detrimental effect upon the local Parties than upon the national Party. As Secretary of the Wigan L.R.C. he had had to strike out several important societies owing to the judgment. The same societies were affiliated and were continuing their affiliation with the national Party. The difficulty was that levies could not be insisted upon by the officials of the local branch. He believed his local Party would continue to decline unless the judgment was reversed, and he seconded the resolution in order that it might stimulate the Party to insist upon the matter being dealt with.

MR. A. G. CAMERON (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) moved the following amendment:—

*To add: "and until it is reversed we advise all Trade Unions affiliated to our Party to defy the law, and in this way prove that we are determined to use our funds according to the decision of the majority of our members."*

He said that those who had struggled for Labour Representation in the rank and file of the Carpenters and Joiners knew that with the officials of the Union taking the decision lying down they had lost thousands of pounds. Without any disrespect to the men at the head of affairs he would say that as it was with his own Society so it was with other Unions. The rank and file ought to be given a fighting lead, and if it was necessary for men to go to prison there were men in the Carpenters and Joiners who were prepared to defy the law and take the consequences.

MR. F. HODGES (Artillery Trades Council) asked whether any time was mentioned when the Prime Minister promised that a Bill would be introduced again, or if the Party made any effort to obtain such information.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., replied that the pledge was simply that a Bill would be introduced in the coming Session. The Prime Minister did not say that the Bill would be introduced soon, but the Party would do its best to secure its early introduction. Sometimes it was better not to press too much for a time for a pledge, because if the Prime Minister had been asked if he would introduce the Bill soon he might have said "No," and having said that, would have been committed to it. It was better to leave it open. The Party would introduce its own Bill. If they were fortunate in the ballot they would select the earliest Friday for its introduction.

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (Gasworkers) said he thought they would all be agreed on the principle of the proposal before them. There was no difference whatever as to the attitude of organised Labour about the

Osborne Judgment. They regarded that Judgment as imposing minority rule upon the Unions. That Judgment they were determined to reverse, and he only wished to make one or two remarks on the controversial points that had been raised. The mover of the resolution had informed the Conference that the Parliamentary Party had not tried to reverse the decision; that they were too anxious to adopt Liberal cries. There was not an atom of truth in the statement. What the Party had done in the House of Commons and in the country was a complete answer to it. In the House of Commons they had busied themselves at the opening of the Session and organised themselves for a ballot in order to get the Bill through. They also enlisted the help of other Members, but when the ballot came out they were about thirty-eighth on the list. There was no chance of going ahead on the ballot unless they got at least third, fourth, or fifth place. Therefore they could do no more than formally table the Bill. They could not get it a Second Reading or in any Parliamentary sense press it forward. The Government brought their own Bill in, and the Party opposed it and denounced it as being inadequate to meet the situation. They did all they could in the House of Commons by question, by discussion, and by ballot to advance this most urgent matter. There had been three bye-elections—Camlachie, Kilmarnock, and Oldham. In each of those places the seat was held by the Liberal and the Labour Party put up its own Candidate to fight the Liberal, and certainly one of the leading items in the Labour Candidates' programmes was the reversal of the Osborne decision. In face of this how could any delegate, who read even a capitalist newspaper, say the Party had done nothing and had been more concerned to adopt Liberal cries and support the Government in the House of Commons.

The amendment was put and carried; and the resolution, as amended, was then unanimously agreed to.

#### TIME LIMIT FOR SPEECHES.

A DELEGATE moved—

*That the mover of a motion have five minutes and other speakers three minutes.*

This was formally seconded and carried.

#### SECRET DIPLOMACY.

MRS. BRUCE GLASIER (Women's Labour League) moved—

*This Conference protests against secret diplomacy and urges that no treaty, agreement, understanding, or entente be entered into with any foreign Power by any person whatsoever on behalf of the British State until such proposals shall have been brought before the House of Commons.*

She said that as a result of secret diplomacy the country was now in alliance with countries with no free institutions and who were murdering their best children. They protested as working women against this secrecy

and demanded that the people should be consulted before any agreement or alliance was come to.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League) seconded, and said that during the last few months the country had constantly been on the verge of war or occupied in repressing those small nations with which in times gone by they had been proud to be friends. The action taken by the Foreign Office at the present time was not the action of the people but of the Foreign Office only. There was a proposal that in order to deal effectively with foreign affairs there should be a Committee of the House of Commons. That had been deliberately left out of the resolution for the reason that it was not enough for a Committee to do the work; the whole House of Commons should have to agree to any treaty before it was made. In France there was a Committee to deal with Foreign Affairs, and yet that Committee had discovered recently that there were secret clauses which had never been reported to them.

The resolution was put and agreed to unanimously.

#### ELECTION OF AUDITORS.

The nominations and voting for Auditors were as follows:—

ELECTED.		
J. Bell ( <i>Textile Workers</i> ) ..	..	162
R. Brown ( <i>Miners</i> ) ..	..	124
NOT ELECTED.		
H. Skinner ( <i>Typographical</i> ) ..	..	103
H. H. Elvin ( <i>Clerks</i> ) ..	..	99
A. Short ( <i>Boilermakers</i> ) ..	..	77
Tom Rees ( <i>A.S.E.</i> ) ..	..	68

#### PLACE OF NEXT CONFERENCE.

The following were the nominations and voting for the place of next Conference:—

Glasgow ..	..	..	218
Preston ..	..	..	69
Woolwich ..	..	..	34
Huddersfield ..	..	..	26
Stoke-on-Trent ..	..	..	12

Glasgow was therefore declared to be the place chosen.

#### THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

COUNCILLOR EGERTON P. WAKE (Barrow Labour Party) moved the following further resolution on this subject:—

That this Conference is of the opinion that as the Right to Strike is threatened and the power of peaceful picketing is assailed by the proposed amendments to the Trade Disputes Act, and as the political activities of Trade Unions are now restricted by the Osborne Judgment, the time has come when the position of Trade Unions before the law should be clearly defined; and therefore instructs the Party to prepare a Trade Union Consolidation Bill which, while preserving the necessary powers derived under previous Acts, shall once for all end the long struggle between

Trade Unions and the Law, by establishing full industrial and political freedom for Trade Unions.

He said the best kind of defence was to attack. The arguments that had been put forward on the Right to Strike, on the use of the military, and the demands that were being made to limit the power of Trade Unions, were direct arguments in favour of the resolution he was moving. It was time Trade Unions did something in self-defence; they ought to have an Act clearly to define their powers once for all. He moved the resolution in order that they might have a Trade Union Consolidation Bill and end the struggle between Trade Unions and the law.

MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER (Ealing L.R.C.), seconding, said that it was a matter of grave importance that the position of the Unions should be defined. A great deal of the difficulty under the Osborne judgment had arisen because one Act after another had been passed at intervals of twenty years, and at the present time no one knew what the law relating to Trade Unions really was. Gradually and steadily the right to manage their own affairs was being taken away. He supposed the delegates knew it had been said that the Osborne decision did not apply to an unregistered Union, although unregistered Unions had been injuncted. In view of the difference of opinion there ought to be one measure stating clearly and definitely what the powers of Trade Unions were.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said that whilst he was not exactly prepared to oppose the resolution he hoped it would be clearly understood that it was in no way an alternative with reference to the Osborne Judgment and other points. If they were going to demand a Consolidation Act regarding Trade Unions they would have to whistle for a long time before they got anything. A mere consolidation of the law would not get them out of their difficulty. In his opinion they were not ready for that yet. He did not want to oppose the motion but they must understand that if the Party did not produce a Consolidating Bill within the next twelve months the delegates must not come to the next Conference and say that the Party had refrained from carrying out instructions.

COUNCILLOR T. TOPPING (Huddersfield Trades Council) opposed the resolution because he wished to see the Osborne decision reversed first of all, and until that was secured they should not enter into any other legal aspect of Trade Union law. He thought the Parliamentary Party had enough to do during the next twelve months without breaking new ground.

COUNCILLOR WAKE, in reply to Mr. MacDonald, said that the Consolidation Bill should not be an alternative to the Osborne Bill.

MR. J. T. MACPHERSON (Steel Smelters) moved "*The previous question*," which was seconded, put, and carried.

#### NEW STANDING ORDER.

#### CONFERENCE AGENDA.

MR. H. SKINNER (Typographical Association) moved the following:—

*When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration in favour of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.*

He said this proposal would facilitate the business of the Conference and would prevent the repetition year after year of matters of a more or less controversial character. He was prepared to accept the amendment standing in the name of the Portsmouth Trades Council.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dockers) seconded.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (I.L.P.) opposed the resolution because it meant that if some question, say the Minimum Wage, came up at a Conference and a resolution was carried the matter could not be brought up again for three years. If there was no freedom to place resolutions on the Agenda they would be unable to travel over the ground of the previous twelve months. It was true that many resolutions appeared year after year but the speeches were not the same, because different circumstances had arisen in the interval.

MR. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P., hoped the Conference would pass the resolution. There were three different Conferences each year and at each of them resolutions similar in principle and character were passed, and he thought a great deal could be advanced in favour of lessening the number of such resolutions. He thought that when the Trade Union Congress or the Labour Party Conference confirmed a principle or resolution that it might very well stand with a safeguard that if it was a live question of the character indicated by Mr. Anderson it should receive notice in either the Report of the Executive or in the address of the President for the time being. Then if a society was desirous of a question being reintroduced it could send it in to the Executive with an expression of opinion that circumstances had arisen that made it desirable for the matter to be re-opened. He thought it would be wise to set up this new Standing Order as it would simplify the work of the Conference because a great deal of extremely valuable time was occupied on resolutions that came up year after year to the detriment of new live questions which might otherwise receive full consideration.

MR. T. MALLALIEU (Hatters) said he thought no one would disagree with the idea of abolishing duplicate resolutions at the Annual Conferences, but the resolution made no provision for a three years' instruction to the Executive and every year a new Execu-

tive was elected. How could a resolution carried two years' previous be an instruction to a newly elected Executive?

MR. G. H. STUART (Postmen's Federation) opposed the resolution and submitted that Mr. Roberts had rather misled the Conference by his arguments. It was quite true that there were similar resolutions carried at the three Annual Conferences but that had nothing to do with the proposal on the paper. He was of opinion that it was dangerous to give the Executive too much power with regard to what should appear on the Agenda, and he thought that those who had submitted the resolution ought to have shown which resolutions in their opinion should not have appeared on the present Agenda. It was exceedingly important that on occasion they should have the re-affirmation of a principle. It was true that there was a great deal of time wasted but the remedy suggested was worse than the disease. He preferred the waste of time to the waste of principle which would exist under the proposed Standing Order.

MR. H. SKINNER, replying, said that Mr. Mallalieu was in doubt as to what effect the resolution would have on a new Executive. But surely any Conference resolution was an instruction to any Executive which might be elected.

The resolution was put and carried, the voting being:—

For .. ..	1,149,000
Against .. ..	323,000

#### LABOUR EXCHANGES.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) formally moved:—

*That in the opinion of this Conference the establishment of Labour Exchanges, without providing the means for setting the unemployed to work, is only tabulating, without attempting to solve, this most serious social question. This Conference is also of opinion that the present method pursued by the officials in charge of the Exchanges in sending several applicants to respond to one "call," is prejudicial to the workers, and is fruitful of great hardships to the unsuccessful, and is of opinion that "one person one job" should be the method observed. This Conference also demands that a regulation be issued to the officers in charge of the Labour Exchanges, that upon notification being received of any dispute or lock-out of any trade or industry in any district, they shall immediately cease to place in communication the employers and workpeople in that particular trade or industry, as far as the affected district is concerned. This Conference also demands that a definite instruction be issued by the Board of Trade, that in no circumstances must any labour be supplied to an employer below the current rate, whether that rate be established by the Trade Union, a written or other agreement with the employer, or by custom.*

*The Board of Trade should also be urged to establish local Advisory Trade Committees in every borough, county borough, and urban district that has more than 20,000 inhabitants; and that representatives of local Trade Union Branches should be given a fair proportion of seats on these Committees, with powers to report to their organisations as to the business discussed at these meetings.*

*That this Conference is of opinion that the National Labour Exchanges ought not to supply workpeople to employers who do not pay the standard rate of wages in their respective districts; and if employers so supplied are afterwards found to be paying less than the standard rate, they ought to be punished. This Conference, therefore, instructs the Parliamentary Labour Party to take all possible steps to secure the enactment of these important conditions into law.*

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

#### THE BLIND.

MR. A. G. CAMERON (Amalgamated Carpenters) moved the following resolution:—

*That this Conference urges upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of making adequate provision for the Blind, by placing the responsibility upon one of the State Departments of providing for the maintenance of the dependent Blind, by—*

*(1) the provision of technical schools for the capable blind who can be made industrially self-supporting;*

*(2) the establishment of National and Municipal Workshops, with the guarantee of a real living wage;*

*(3) for the incapable and infirm blind, their maintenance by pensions adequate to keep them in a proper and humane manner.*

*(4) the establishment of Special National Elementary and Secondary Schools, with free maintenance and education for all blind children;*

*(5) the establishment of a National College of Music for the blind gifted in this art.*

*Further, we express our approval of the Blind Aid Bill, and call upon the Government to afford facilities for its speedy passage into law.*

He said that the blind institutions in Great Britain taught the blind to make baskets and mats in order that they might make a living in the competitive market. Anyone who knew anything about the making of baskets and mats knew that the training received in those institutions was not sufficient to enable the blind to go outside and earn their living. The blind children ought not to be trained in institutions which would launch them out into the competitive market to be exploited by capitalists, but the principle adopted in France should be adopted in this country and real schools should be established where the children would be trained

in the arts and sciences. They would thus be relieved from having to earn a living in industries which made it absolutely impossible for them to live under human conditions.

The resolution was formally seconded, and carried unanimously.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

COUNCILLOR J. M. MACTAVISH (Portsmouth Trades Council) moved the following :—

*That this Conference expresses its substantial approval of the Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., entitled "The Local Authorities (Enabling) Bill," and desires the Parliamentary Party to give it a place upon its list of measures to be introduced.*

He said it was the only resolution on the Agenda dealing with Local Government. At the previous Conference there were none. That suggested to his mind that the question of successful local administration did not receive from the Movement the amount of attention it deserved. He thought everyone who knew anything about the Bill Mr. Hardie had fathered would thank him for the efforts he had made. That Bill proposed to relieve local authorities from the swaddling clothes that at present enwrapped them, and he hoped the Party would see that it got a place in the ballot and give the necessary assistance to Mr. Hardie in pushing it through.

The resolution was formally seconded, and carried unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

#### FRIDAY'S SITTING.

The Conference resumed at 10 a.m.

#### ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The voting for the members of the Executive Committee was announced as follows :—

#### TRADE UNION SECTION.

##### ELECTED.

J. R. Clynes, M.P. ( <i>Gasworkers</i> )	1,315
Ben Turner ( <i>Weavers</i> )	1,304
W. C. Robinson ( <i>Textile Workers</i> )	1,281
G. H. Roberts, M.P. ( <i>Typographical Association</i> )	1,277
S. Walsh, M.P. ( <i>Miners</i> )	1,119
P. Walls ( <i>Blastfurnacemen</i> )	981
J. J. Stephenson ( <i>A.S. Engineers</i> )	963
J. Hodge, M.P. ( <i>Steel Smelters</i> )	839
H. Orbell ( <i>Dock Workers</i> )	814
R. J. Wilson ( <i>Co-operative Employees</i> )	623
T. Lowth ( <i>General Railway Workers</i> )	498

##### NOT ELECTED.

J. Twomey ( <i>Nat. Amal. Labourers</i> )	455
Wm. F. Purdy ( <i>Shipwrights</i> )	442
R. Morley ( <i>Workers' Union</i> )	440
D. Jones ( <i>Assurance Agents</i> )	327
W. M. Lawson ( <i>Ironfounders</i> )	222
P. Flanagan ( <i>Builders' Labourers</i> )	117
J. Lamb ( <i>Wheelwrights</i> )	37

#### TRADES COUNCILS AND LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.

##### ELECTED.

Tom Fox ( <i>Manchester T.C.</i> )	35
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##### NOT ELECTED.

Egerton P. Wake ( <i>Barrow L.P.</i> )	18
F. Hughes ( <i>Birmingham L.R.C.</i> )	9
D. Williams ( <i>Swansea L.A.</i> )	6
W. R. Smith ( <i>Norwich T.C.</i> )	5

#### SOCIALIST SECTION.

##### (UNOPPOSED.)

W. C. Anderson ( <i>I.L.P.</i> )
J. Keir Hardie, M.P. ( <i>I.L.P.</i> )
Edw. R. Pease ( <i>Fabian Society</i> )

#### EXECUTIVE'S REPORT.

##### RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PARTY FINANCES.

MR. A. HENDERSON, M.P., moved the following motion as an amendment of the original paragraph in the Report under the above heading :—

That the paragraph be altered so as to read : We propose for the future that the sole charge on affiliated Trade Unions and Socialist Societies should be 2d. per member, with a minimum of 2os. for any organisation, and that the fees payable by Trades Councils and local Labour Parties should be unaltered. On the basis of last year (1910) this charge should yield something over £10,000 a year which we deem necessary for our work, but owing to the continued enforcement of the Osborne Judgment, we cannot safely reckon on receiving the full amount due from the affiliated societies.

He said that, acting on the motion carried the previous day, the retiring Executive had reconsidered the matter and had decided to submit the paragraph as revised.

MR. P. SNOWDEN, M.P. (*I.L.P.*) said that as representing the organisation responsible for the motion of the day before he accepted the revised recommendation of the Executive and asked the Conference to accept it also.

MR. A. WILKIE, M.P. (*Shipwrights*) opposed the new proposal. There were a lot of Societies injunctioned and if the proposal was carried it would encourage disaffected members to get a lot more injunctioned. It was no use Mr. Snowden being in the air. He agreed with all that Mr. Snowden had said, but Trade Union officials had to keep on *terra firma* and deal with members who were not too sympathetic, and in taking 2d. from those members they were raising difficulties which it would be well for the Conference to avoid.

MR. J. BUTTS (*Engineers*) said he was amazed at the change of policy on the part of the Executive. His Society had been in the law courts and had had to spend a considerable amount of money, the result of which would be that they were going to have trouble in the near future with regard to their obligations to the Labour Party. It was all very well for Mr. Snowden to talk

in the strain he did, but he wished Mr. Snowden to realise that nearly every delegate and the average member of the rank and file had to pay three or four times over. He himself had to pay to the Labour Party, then there were local dues, and he also paid to the I.L.P. and his Trade Union. Under the circumstances they ought to go easy. £10,000 for purely organisation purposes appeared to him to be a vast revenue and if the members were overtaxed there might be a breaking down. The Conference ought to give those Societies that were struggling to keep their heads above water a little more consideration. When the Osborne Judgment was reversed they would probably get into a more satisfactory state.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that if anyone wished to revert to the old recommendation it would be within his province to move an amendment to that effect.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (*Gasworkers*) opposed the proposal. The Party were now saving £8,000 per annum on account of the State Payment of Members, and assuming there was an election only once in four years that meant a saving of £32,000. He wanted to know what was going to be done with that sum. Would it go towards paying election expenses? Unless the Party were going to pay election expenses, 2d. per member was really more than it ought to be. If a contribution of 1d. was decided upon it would mean that his Union would save sufficient to pay his election expenses three times over.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said the money would be spent on the lines indicated in the Report. The Executive had reconsidered the paragraph not because they agreed with what had been said the previous day but because they understood from many quarters that there was a desire for the matter to be reconsidered. He admitted that the margin originally budgetted for was a small margin, but they understood perfectly well the difficulties that had been put before the Conference. They could do with the extra £5,000, and it remained for the Conference to say whether, under the circumstances, it was possible to provide that sum, which, he could assure the delegates, would be well spent. On the other hand, the Conference could decide on a penny contribution, but the Executive, on further consideration, thought that 2d. might be levied, and the whole matter would come up again at the next Conference.

MR. J. N. BELL (Amalgamated Union of Labour) said that the matter had been referred back the previous day very hastily. If it had been discussed more then there would have been less occasion to talk about it again. He thought the original recommendation went rather too far in one direction, and the revised recommendation a little too far in the other. In spite of the fact that 2d. per annum was a very small sum indeed it must be remembered that the rank and file were expecting reduced contributions in view of the State Payment of Members.

If no relief was given then every malcontent would have an opportunity provided for making things awkward in his society. There were several injunctioned organisations represented at the Conference and he supposed that meant that they were able to get the 15s. per thousand from their funds. A penny contribution with the affiliation fee of 15s. per thousand members retained in addition would bring £1,000 more than the original proposal, and there would be just the same payment from those organisations that had been injunctioned but who were represented at the Conference. He asked the Conference to consider this proposal.

MR. W. M. ADAMSON (Coventry L.R.C.) said the Trade Union point of view had been put, but there was also the local Labour Party view. It would be admitted that the work of local Labour Parties had been hampered. It had devolved upon them to work up both municipal and parliamentary organisation and they had not been allowed sufficient funds. He submitted that the original recommendation of the Executive did not go far enough. The local Parties ought to be subsidised by the national body, which would then be able to control the work done locally and be able to put its finger on the weak spots and see that they were organised properly.

MR. J. KELLY (Bookbinders) said it would be a mistake if there was any deviation from the original proposal. They ought to avoid as much difficulty as possible. The members had been assured that with the Payment of Members their contributions would be reduced. If after a year's working it could be shown that it was absolutely necessary to revert to the 2d. it could be done far better than to recommend it at this juncture. There were in his own Union hundreds of people who were entirely opposed to political action but they had been loyal enough to accept the majority rule.

MR. J. McGURK (Miners) moved the following amendment:—

*That the contribution be 1d. per member with a minimum of 10s. for any organisation.*

MR. J. CRINION (Textile) seconded.

The amendment was put and declared carried, the voting being:—

For .. ..	1,173,000
Against .. ..	423,000

The amendment was then put as a substantive motion, and declared carried.

The following consequential amendments to the Constitution were then formally made:—

#### CLAUSE IV.

##### CANDIDATURES.

Section 1. The section as it stood was as follows:—

1. A Candidate must be promoted by an affiliated Society which makes itself responsible for his election expenses. —

## AMENDMENT :

*Line 2 : Delete "an affiliated Society" and insert "one or more affiliated Societies."*  
*Delete "makes itself" and insert "make themselves."*

## New Section :-

4.—Twenty-five per cent. of the Returning Officer's net expenses shall be paid in respect of Candidates, but no such payment shall be made to a Candidate of any Society which is in arrears in its contributions to the Party.

## CLAUSE VIII.

## AFFILIATION FEES AND DELEGATES.

Section 1.—The section as it stood was as follows :—

1.—Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall pay 15s. per annum for every thousand members or fraction thereof, and may send to the Annual Conference one delegate for each thousand members.

## AMENDMENT :

*Line 2 : Delete "15s. per annum for every thousand members or fraction thereof" and substitute "id. per member per annum, with a minimum of 10s."*

## PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

*Delete all.*

## GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

## LABOUR PARTY POLICY.

COUNCILLOR J. M. MACTAVISH (Portsmouth Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

*That this Conference is of opinion that certain clauses in the National Insurance Act will increase the difficulties of Trade Unions; that the incidence of taxation under the Act is unjust; that the Act is unfair in its treatment of those who most need the protection of the State against the economic forces they are powerless to control; and that this Conference urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to continue to demand from Parliament the reduction of the contributions payable by workers and by employers, with a view to their ultimate extinction.*

He said his Council protested against the incidence of the taxation in connection with the Insurance Act. The employers' contribution to the scheme, amounting to some ten millions, was simply a direct tax on industry, and as such could be easily shifted. In a comparatively short time most of that amount would be part of the cost of production and would be placed on the shoulders of the consuming public, who were, in the main, working people. If the tax were placed on land or on any form of unearned increment it would be more difficult for it to be shifted. He thought the Conference would agree that there was no other section of the community more responsible for social disease than the section which represented the landed interest. Yet such parasitic interests that put into their pockets the value created by the community did not

contribute one penny piece towards dealing with the disease for which they were to a very large extent directly responsible. The low-paid workers in the engineering, ship-building, and building industries were to be compelled to pay 6½d. per week. If it had to be a contributory scheme then it should have been on the basis of each section of the community paying in proportion to its responsibility for the disease the Act proposed to insure against. If that were done then he would venture to assert that 6d. out of the 6½d. would be paid out of unearned increment, and the remaining ½d. would meet the responsibilities of working people. He hoped the Party would do all they could to secure a re-adjustment of the incidence of the taxation more in conformity with scientific economics and commonsense. With regard to the effect of the Act on Trade Unions, they had had a very favourable actuary's report, but that report was based on a series of assumptions every one of which rested on extremely shaky foundations. It rested on the assumption that the year 1910 was a normal year. As a matter of fact, 1910 was an abnormal year. Had it been normal the balances shown in that report would in most cases have been wiped out. It was also based on the assumption that the Unions would retain their membership and that every member would make his Union his approved society. He very much questioned whether that would happen. The Act compelled every young man at the age of 16 to select his approved society. What percentage of those young men would select a Trade Union as their approved society. That alone gave the great industrial assurance companies a great pull over the Trade Unions. Briefly, his Council were opposed to the Act because they regarded it as a menace to the Unions.

COUNCILLOR T. TOPPING (Huddersfield Trades Council), seconding, said that the resolution which his Council had placed on the Agenda deprecated the action of the Parliamentary Party in not putting up a better fight against the Bill, but he was not one who believed in denouncing people after the work had been done. What had to be done now was to make the best of what his Council believed to be a bad Act.

MR. W. S. SANDERS (Fabian Society) said that his Society had no desire to blame the Party in connection with the Insurance Bill. They made in his opinion a good fight in a very difficult situation. His Society suggested that now the Act was in operation the Party should continue to use all their power to get some of the amendments carried that they were defeated upon when the Bill was first before Parliament. They wanted the Party to press for the elimination of contributions levied on individuals. As an instalment they wanted them to get the limit of non-contributors raised; they wanted them to press for the 30s. maximum. Then, when they had got the 30s. maximum, the machinery for raising the contributions from the other sections of the community

would cost more than it was worth and the way would be open for an altogether non-contributory scheme. It had been said that it was not possible to find the money for a non-contributory scheme. He had in his hand, however, a speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Lloyd George had been told that he had not brought in a non-contributory scheme because he could not find the money, and his reply was that he could have found it. In his (the speaker's) view the introduction of the contributory principle into social reform was a set-back, and he was very much afraid that with a change of Government, with a Tory Government possibly starting its boasted policy of social reform, instead of following the healthy example of the Old Age Pensions Act without contributions, the Government would turn to the Liberals and say they were going to follow the example set them by the Insurance Act and make the workers pay for the social reform they demanded.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said the resolution was very pious and very non-committal, and so far as he was concerned he did not mind if the resolution were carried or not. The original Huddersfield resolution had disappeared and very wisely disappeared, because in reply to a resolution of that character the Party had the Memorial Hall Conference behind them. When a Special Conference was called to discuss a particular Bill the Party could be depended upon to carry out the decisions come to. With reference to the first part of the resolution before the Conference, that certain clauses of the Act would increase the difficulties of Trade Unions, the Party said so in the House of Commons. He was not quite sure that they would agree as to the particular clauses, but as the resolution did not specify them they could accept the general statement. With regard to the statement that the incidence of the taxation was unjust, the incidence of taxation under all Acts was unjust from the Labour Party point of view, and therefore he agreed to that statement. If a tax had been put on towards a non-contributory scheme the incidence might have been more unjust. Then there was the point about the Post Office depositors: that those who required most had no protection at all. The Party said so in the House of Commons, and Liberals, Radicals and Tories agreed. The House of Commons had pledged itself that in 1915 it would reconsider the matter. Then the final part, especially in view of Mr. Sanders' explanation as to what the words really meant, was so harmless that no harm would be done in passing it. Therefore, he offered no objection to the resolution.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) said he congratulated the Parliamentary Party on their dexterity and good luck in evading criticism, but he would not congratulate the Chairman of the Party on the flippant speech with which he had just met the resolution. It was all very well to make fun of a resolution of this sort, but though it might be vague it did raise certain very

important points. The Conference had been prevented by technicalities from discussing and criticising the policy of the Parliamentary Party in regard to the Insurance Act, and the same or similar technicalities had been used to protect the Chairman of the Party when he had hurled thunder-bolts of criticism at some of his colleagues in the House. That was unfairness in the procedure of the Conference which he hoped would never happen again. Mr. MacDonald had been flippant towards the resolution because by inference it was a vote of condemnation on the Parliamentary Party. The resolution said that the Act increased the difficulties of Trade Unions; the Party voted for it. The incidence of taxation was unjust; the Party voted for it. The Act was unfair in its treatment of those who most needed the protection of the State; the Party voted for it. The Parliamentary Chairman excused that section of the Act last referred to on the ground that it was an experiment. A vivisection experiment he (the speaker) would suggest. However weak and however vague the resolution might be, because it was by inference a condemnation of the Parliamentary Party—which condemnation the Conference had been prevented by hook or by crook from properly discussing and meting out—he would vote for the resolution.

MR. J. SEXTON (Dockers) said that most speakers said they did not want to blame the Parliamentary Party and then proceeded to knock the stuffing out of them. He did not want to do that, but he would like to call attention to the fact that under the Act casual labourers earning only about 7s. a week were to be compelled to pay 4d. a week, an amount as much as others earning far more would be called upon to pay. That was an injustice that ought to be looked into.

MR. W. MOSSES (Pattern Makers) said he was glad an opportunity had been afforded of criticising the action of the Party towards the Bill. He wished to say a word or two with regard to their action in respect of resolutions carried at the Memorial Hall Conference. The Party had done a great deal of good work in connection with both Part I and Part II, with one striking omission. The Memorial Hall Conference unanimously passed a resolution that the same disabilities which attached to Post Office depositors under Part I should also attach to non-society men under Part II. He had observed with extreme regret that no amendment to Part II was put down on the lines of that resolution. However, it was now too late to remedy that and they must take the Act and make the best of it. He did not agree with the mover of the resolution when he referred to the provision of youths at the age of 16 having to declare their approved societies being inimical to Trade Unions. He thought that provision would have a very excellent effect, because, after all, a youth of 16 was at the most impressionable age. He was brought into daily and hourly contact with his workmates and it would be up to the Trade Unionists who knew him to see

that he made the Union his approved Society, and once having got him they would find that when he became of age and eligible to join the Union he would do so and draw the benefits.

A DELEGATE asked whether Mr. Sexton was right in stating that a casual labourer earning only 7s. a week would have to pay 4d.

MR. MACDONALD, M.P., replying, said Mr. Sexton was right under one condition, namely, if the man was only employed for the day. They did their best to get that altered but failed. If the man was paid 7s. for the week he paid nothing at all under the Act—thanks to the Party.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the question be put.

The resolution was accordingly put, and was declared carried on a show of hands, the figures being :—

For .. ..	241
Against .. ..	39

#### RECOMMENDATION FROM STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

MR. T. GREENALL reported a recommendation from the Standing Orders Committee that after the resolution on Foreign Policy and Persia, for which the Standing Orders were to be suspended, had been discussed, a resolution with regard to the men who had been sentenced to prison in connection with the Canibrian Strike would be submitted to the Conference.

The recommendation was agreed to.

#### FOREIGN POLICY AND PERSIA.

MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (I.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

*That this Congress, believing the anti-German policy pursued in the name of the British Government by Sir Edward Grey to be a cause of increasing armaments, international ill-will, and the betrayal of oppressed nationalities, protests in the strongest terms against it. The Conference is of opinion that this diplomacy has led the present Government to risk war with Germany in the interests of French financiers over Morocco, to condone the Italian outrage in Tripoli, the Russian theft in Mongolia, and, above all, to join hands with Russia in making an assault on the national independence and freedom of Persia. It places on record its deepest sympathy with and support of the Persian people, and calls upon the Labour Party in Parliament to fight for a reversal of the present foreign policy.*

He first of all expressed regret at the short time allowed for the discussion on the resolution. Fifteen minutes would be quite inadequate to deal with it. The resolution raised the whole question of the attitude of this country towards Germany, of its action or connivance in connection with Morocco, with Tripoli, and latterly with Persia. He could only deal in general terms, not with the policy itself, but with one or two of its

results. The foreign policy of Great Britain was conducted as though no citizen had the vote; it was conducted in the dark, and no one knew what was going on until the country had been committed to courses which the whole of the people would reject if put to them. A great deal was heard about the enormity of the miners breaking their contracts with the employers in certain parts of the country. If the miners wanted to plead a precedent of the most glaring kind they could find it in our foreign relationships. The country bound itself in the eyes of the world by a solemn agreement to observe and maintain the integrity and independence of Persia. It was now conniving with Russia in stamping out every vestige of that independence. Not only so, but circumstances were being created which made conscription in this country absolutely inevitable. Our foreign policy had already added £10,000,000 a year to the expenses of the Navy. In the course of a very few years it was bound to add enormously to the military expenditure both in India and at home. Because of these things he asked the Conference to condemn in the most whole-hearted manner the foreign policy of the present Government. The reasons for the present foreign policy were two-fold. First of all, it suited the interests of people with money to invest. Commerce and finance governed foreign policy, and the main outcome of that fundamental fact was that the whole policy of Great Britain was shaped in antagonism to that of Germany. He had no love for the German Government any more than he had for the Russian Government, but if he was called upon to choose between the autocracy of Russia and the present German Government he would most hesitatingly cast his lot on the side of Germany as against Russia. If they wanted an illustration of the spirit of our ally, Russia, they had only to look at the massacre and the banishment of reformers constantly going on. Take what was happening that very week. A deputation, ostensibly representing the British people, had gone to Russia. Not a single man in that deputation had gone to speak from the British people to the Russian people. They had gone to speak to the vested interests and the present rulers of Russia. Not only were Labour men and Socialists excluded from that deputation but even Liberals who had dared to criticise Russian policy were not allowed to join the deputation. Under these circumstances he asked the Conference to mark its disapproval of the whole foreign policy of the Government by passing the resolution unanimously.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (I.L.P.) seconded, and said that he agreed with Mr. Hardie that the present foreign policy as carried out by Sir Edward Grey was based on the idea of isolating Germany and of drawing into closer alliance with Italy, France and Russia. The result of that was seen in the mad warfare and competition of armaments—armaments mounting up in Germany and in this country and putting greater and greater burdens on

MR. P. SNOWDEN, M.P. (I.L.P.) said that Mr. Smillie was evidently conscious of the weakness of his case. There was no question of extending the vote to women on the basis of a property qualification. What the resolution and especially the latter part of it asked the Conference to do was to translate into practical deeds the pious opinions they had uttered in every Conference of the Party. There had never been at any Conference any expression of hostility to the political emancipation of women. They had differed as to the precise method in which the concession should be made, but they had all agreed that the claims of the women for political enfranchisement constituted a claim which was of a most imperative and urgent character. Those who were associated with the Women's Movement knew that there had been a considerable amount of suspicion in regard to the sincerity of some men who declared themselves in favour of Adult Suffrage because it was believed that that profession of sympathy for Adult Suffrage was merely a pretext for securing postponement of the enfranchisement of women. If the Conference was going to go back on its expressed opinions on Adult Suffrage, now that the question had become one of practical legislation, such a course he imagined would simply increase that suspicion. The claims of the women stood in an entirely different category to the claims of men. There had been no demand for an extension of the vote to those men who were outside the present franchise. There were far more men who had votes than there were men who could intelligently use those votes. The Party professed to stand for the cause of the weak and the down-trodden. If there was one Party which in this great crisis the women had any claim upon it was the Labour Party. If there was any chivalry in the Labour Party, then they would admire the women for having made the greatest and most magnificent fight that had ever been made.

MISS MARY MACARTHUR (I.L.P.) said it was not the first time she had spoken at Labour Conferences on this subject and she could remember in bygone years when she stood at the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference and advocated Adult Suffrage and refused in the name of the women of the Trade Union Movement to advocate a limited, propertied women's suffrage. When she said that the men and women of the Labour Movement were going to stand together for full Adult Suffrage she little thought that the men whom she stood by would come to this Conference and desert the women. They had been told by the miners, who had been so friendly to the women, who had helped the women again and again, that they were prepared to allow the Government to know at this stage that they would take Manhood Suffrage and leave the women out altogether. She spoke with feeling and would point out to Mr. Smillie that the resolution he was opposing simply asked the Labour Party to make it clear to the Government that anything else would

not be acceptable. Was that not true? She appealed to the miners, in the memory of past battles, in the memory of past friendships, to withdraw their opposition to the resolution.

MISS MILLICENT MURBY (Fabian Society) said that Miss Macarthur had explained the sense of all the women on this subject. The position taken up by the miners was inconsistent with the mandate of the people who had sent them to the Conference. Their people had sent them to vote in favour of Adult Suffrage, to say that no measure of extended franchise would be acceptable unless it included men and women, and yet Mr. Smillie had said that he was going to vote against the resolution because of what might or might not be the policy of the Labour Party in a given set of circumstances. That was utterly illogical and would be extremely hard to justify. At this juncture it was an insult to the women. The support of the men at this juncture would stand to lose them nothing in the future. They knew that the Liberal Government must give an alteration in the franchise and in order to abolish plural voting, Manhood Suffrage would be their alternative. Much depended on the Labour Party whether the extended franchise included the women or not.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the question be put.

The resolution was put and declared carried, the voting being as follows:—

For .. ..	919,000
Against .. ..	686,000

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY.

COUNCILLOR J. M. MACTAVISH (Portsmouth Trades Council) moved the following:—

*The Conference declares its conviction there is no quarrel between the peoples of Germany and England, and believing that a wide expression of this conviction would be valuable at the present moment, directs that steps be taken to get all Labour groups or representatives on local bodies to move simultaneously a resolution conveying a fraternal greeting to the German people, and asking their co-operation in the maintenance of peace; copies of such resolution to be sent to responsible statesmen in each country.*

He said that the policy of the present Government had made Great Britain suspect to the German people. A resolution carried by local authorities would have great weight, for local authorities were thoroughly representative of the country.

MR. G. N. BARNES, M.P. (Engineers) seconded the resolution and congratulated his friends from Portsmouth, of all places in the world, in placing such a resolution on the Agenda, which showed that Portsmouth could rise above sectional Labour interests. He did not like resolutions to be passed and then forgotten. If the resolution was carried and nothing followed, it might possibly do more harm than good, and therefore he hoped the Executive would take the resolution as an instruction that steps be at once taken

to circularise all Labour groups on local bodies and see that the resolution was duly carried and sent to the proper places.

The resolution was put and agreed to unanimously.

#### PRESENTATION TO HERMANN MOLKENBUHR.

Three volumes of Shakespeare inscribed with the signatures of the Members of the Executive, were presented to Hermann Molkenbuhr as a memento of his visit to the Conference as a fraternal delegate. In presenting the books,

THE CHAIRMAN said they had all been delighted with Hermann Molkenbuhr's visit to the Conference, and more so because during his visit the German Social Democratic Party had been very successful in the elections. He asked Herr Molkenbuhr to accept the three volumes of Shakespeare as a token of fellowship, goodwill and comradeship.

HERR HERMANN MOLKENBUHR, speaking in German which was afterwards translated by Mr. W. S. Sanders, said that the days he had spent at the Conference were some of the happiest in his life, not simply because he had met with such a kindly reception, not simply because his Party in Germany had been scoring so many victories, but because he saw in those victories and in the Conference that the Cause to which he had given practically the whole of his life was rapidly nearing its fulfilment. The idea of the international solidarity of the workers was now no longer an abstract idea; it had become a reality in which his Party and the Labour Party and the workers of all other countries really believed. When he went back he would tell his comrades of the spirit prevailing among the working classes of this country and he knew they would rejoice with him. He thanked the Conference for the presentation of the works of Shakespeare. It was true that Shakespeare was born in England, but the works of all great spirits were not confined in ownership to the countries in which they were born, but they belonged to the whole human race. He prophesied that the more humanity rose in the scale of culture, the more it would own the property of ideas and all other things in a universal fashion. Up till now the great days of the ruling classes had been the days when they were celebrating great murderous incidents in the story of humanity, celebrations of great battles when thousands had been slain. The great days to be celebrated by the International Labour Movement would be the days on which they had made the greatest progress towards universal peace and universal solidarity.

#### EDUCATION.

##### I.

#### REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

COUNCILLOR J. H. PALIN (Bradford Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

*That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when all Reformatory and Industrial Schools should be placed under*

*the control of publicly elected bodies, in order that the managers of these institutions may be responsible to the public, and under the general supervision of the Board of Education in place of the Home Office, and so that these institutions may be carried on in a more efficient manner. We therefore urge the Labour Party in the House of Commons to press upon the Government the urgent necessity of introducing legislation at an early date, having for its object this very desirable and long overdue reform.*

He said the children in the private institutions referred to were not properly clothed and fed and as those children were the children of working class parents it was the duty of the Labour Party to see that the matter was inquired into and that the children were properly clothed and fed and given a chance of becoming good citizens.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

#### II.

COUNCILLOR J. M. MACTAVISH (Portsmouth Trades Council) moved the following :—

*In view of the fact that the education of the mass of working-class children to-day begins and ends at the Elementary School, this Conference is of opinion that there is urgent need for a generous measure of educational reform in the direction of providing facilities for liberal, as distinct from technical, education, thus laying the basis of the national life in an educated democracy. This Conference therefore directs the Party in Parliament to appoint a small Committee to consider the general question of educational reform and draw up a report thereon. In this connection, the Committee appointed is specially directed to consider—*

(1) *A modification of the curriculum in Primary Schools, in order that in the later years of school life more time may be given to instruction in the duties of citizenship;*

(2) *The raising of the school-leaving age to 16 years, and the right of children in Primary and Secondary Schools to maintenance allowances;*

(3) *The limiting of the hours of boy and girl labour up to the age of eighteen to 30 per week, so as to provide 20 or more hours per week for physical, technological, and general training;*

(4) *The establishment of Medical Treatment centres in connection with each Primary School or Group of Schools. Further, this Conference urges the Party to press the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the matter of University endowments, with a view to their adaptation to the educational requirements of the people.*

Mr. Mactavish said the resolution had been promoted by a belief that the Party ought to have a clear-cut policy on education. He was in agreement with the resolution that had been put forward for so long by the Gasworkers' Union, but it lacked one impor-

tant feature: it did not provide for the teaching of the duties of citizenship. The children ought to be taught how our industrial civilisation was carried on.

MR. F. REES (Wigan L.R.C.) seconding, said he desired to draw attention to the question of the medical treatment of school children. In 1908 Parliament granted inspection, but if that was to be of any use it ought to be accompanied by medical treatment. It was for the Parliamentary Party to see that the central authority provided the local authorities with sufficient money to carry out the policy.

MR. J. CROSS (Textile Workers) opposed the resolution because of the clause with regard to the raising of the school age. His people had taken a ballot on the question of the abolition of half-time labour and the result, contrary to expectations, was against abolition. The officials of the Textile Workers had to take into consideration the declared opinions of those whom they represented and had therefore to oppose the resolution.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners) said he had regretfully to oppose the resolution. The Miners had decided some time previously against the prevention of employment of children underground until they had reached the age of 16, and that being so the delegates were in the position of having to oppose this resolution. He was not going to try to justify such action but they must act according to the opinions of those they represented.

COUNCILLOR W. R. SMITH, J.P. (Norwich Trades Council) said that with regard to physical education the local authorities were hampered by the want of financial aid. Not only so, but the Education Office actually put obstacles in the way of local authorities who had put the Act into operation.

MR. J. CRINION (Textile Workers) said he knew quite well the feeling of the members in the textile industry. There were many who did not altogether believe in raising the age to the extent proposed, but there were others who did believe that it was a question that ought to be pushed forward without delay. Speaking as an individual, he said it was time the half-time question was considered with a view to its abolition, but as the resolution simply suggested that the whole matter should be referred to a small committee for consideration he thought the delegates would have nothing to lose by agreeing to that with a view to the Committee reporting to the next Conference. He knew the strong feeling in his own industry against raising the age but he thought it would be wise to have the matter considered in order to save their people from themselves. He was one of those who believed that half-time should be abolished and that the school age should be raised, but not yet to the extent that some at the Conference would like it to be.

The resolution was put and declared carried.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

##### I.

MR. T. GAVAN DUFFY (Cumberland Iron Ore Miners) moved the following:

*That the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act be so amended or altered as to secure for all workers who meet with accidents in the course of their employment, compensation equal to full wages.*

He said it would require no arguments to convince the Conference of the right of a workman to receive his full wages in the event of an accident. Everything in the way of expenses for the maintenance of the home went on whether the workman was at home or in an infirmary. The profits extracted from the workers were sufficient to enable the employers to pay the extra insurance necessary to meet the increased compensation.

MR. W. REEVES (Dock and Wharf Workers) seconded the resolution, which was put and declared carried.

##### II.

COUNCILLOR J. H. PALIN (Bradford Trades Council) moved the following further resolution:

*That this Conference urges the necessity of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, being so amended as to provide—*

(1) *That a doctor connected with an institution of which an injured workman is a patient shall not, without the consent in writing of such injured workman, furnish to or for the employer or his insurers any report as to the condition of such workman; and that a copy of every report given shall at the same time be furnished without charge by such doctor to the injured workman;*

(2) *For payment of reasonable expenses for medical attendance and medicine;*

(3) *That medical referees should be appointed, and at such remuneration as shall ensure experts in each branch of disease or injury being appointed, who will be required to devote their whole time to their appointments, to the exclusion of private practice. Any person suffering from an industrial disease or injury shall have access to the expert for such disease or injury as he shall decide.*

He said the three points contained in the resolution were three practical difficulties found in working the Act. He wished them to be placed on record so that when the Party came to draft amendments, as they would do very shortly, they might not be lost sight of. They had had many cases where the doctors connected with hospitals where injured workmen were taken were apparently in the pay of the insurance companies. Workmen ought to be safeguarded at a time when they were not able to look after their own interests. Although the hospitals were maintained mainly by the pence of the workers the Trade Union official had great difficulty in having access to a man to advise

him, while the doctor, of course, was always on the spot. Therefore, in common fairness if a report was issued the man's Union official ought to be supplied with a copy. All those whose members suffer from diseases of occupation would agree with the third point for they knew the difficulty in getting a certifying surgeon's certificate that the disease had been caused by the occupation. Men who had to certify industrial diseases ought to be impartial men, not in the pay of the employers, but men whom both sides would be able to look up to and whose decisions they would respect.

MR. J. HARRIS (Workers' Union) seconded the resolution.

MR. F. REES (Wigan L.R.C.) said the condition of things was largely due to the workers themselves. If they allowed doctors to be appointed to their accident clubs by their employers they were entirely to blame.

The resolution was put and declared carried.

### III.

MR. N. TAYLOR (Carpenters) moved the following resolution :—

*That owing to the miscarriage of justice due to the insurance against liability under the Workmen's Compensation Act being carried out by private companies, it is essential that all such liability be insured against by the employers with the State.*

(a) *That where the injured person is over 21 years of age and the earnings less than £1 per week, 75 per cent. of said earnings shall be compensation, payable except where the wages are under 14s., when the full wages shall be payable.*

(b) *That the compensation payable to a person over 21 years of age, but who was injured whilst a minor, and for whom there may be no future basis of increased payment—i.e., not an apprentice—shall be less than 10s. per week.*

(c) *That workmen who lose an eye are entitled to claim for total incapacity;*

(d) *That workmen may claim compensation for nervous shock and other disorders arising from the use of pneumatic tools and gas cutting and welding plant.*

MR. TAYLOR said that at the previous Conference a similar resolution to make the State responsible for paying the compensation was rejected, but he hoped there would be a different answer this time. They knew how the injured workmen were harrassed, victimised and bullied by the insurance companies, and the men very often accepted sums which were nothing like the amount to which they were entitled. In addition, if the State were responsible it would see that the Factory Acts and the Mines Acts were properly carried out.

MR. JOHN HILL (Boilermakers) seconded, and said that in the shipbuilding, engineering and structural iron trades apprentices did not finish their time at twenty-one years of

age. They had been meeting the employers who had demanded that apprenticeship might begin up to the age of 25. If that were agreed to, those young men would be outside the law as it stood at present. The resolution asked that a man losing an eye should be entitled to total disability allowance, because blacklists were published and went all round the Federation of Employers with the consequence that such men could not get employment. There were also individual firms, figuring on the Government contract list, who made a point never to re-employ a man who had lost his eye even in their own employment.

The resolution was put and declared carried.

### IV.

MR. H. SHARPE (Derby Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference is of the opinion that the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, should be amended in order to permit trial of causes under the Act by Jury at the option of the parties, in like manner as trial by Jury is permitted in cases under the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, and with a view to securing this and other necessary amendments, we instruct the Labour Party to press the Government to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the workings of the Compensation Act of 1906.

He said that at present when a claim for compensation for loss of life or limb was being made there was no right to trial by jury. The sympathies of the judges were with the employing class and that was a strong point in favour of trial by jury, where there would be a better chance of getting a verdict without a class bias.

MR. JOHN HILL (Boilermakers) seconded, and said that the question of compensation might seem a detail to the Conference but it was an important question to the Unions who were spending thousands of pounds every year on the matter, and they were finding year by year that the decisions of the courts were narrowing the claims of their members in spite of all they were spending.

MR. J. CRINION (Textile Workers) said that it had been stated that the question of compensation and making claims was in the hands of solicitors who bled the working men. But it was not necessary to put the cases in the hands of solicitors. He himself had negotiated plenty of cases without the aid of any solicitor.

MR. T. MALLALIEU (Hatters) opposed the resolution on the ground that juries were largely drawn from the employing class, and he would much rather place the case of an injured workman in the hands of a judge than in the hands of a jury of employers.

MR. J. HALLSWORTH (Eccles Labour Party) endorsed the statement that juries were largely manned by employers, and while he was not well disposed to the judges he was

less disposed to the juries. They had not only to distrust juries that were manned by employers but they had to resist the machinations of the judges to twist the Compensation Act. He referred more particularly to decisions given in the courts recently. The previous week there were two cases in which miners were interested before the Manchester County Court and the judge laid it down that the intention of the Act was not to confer the full difference between new earnings and old earnings but should only be at the rate of half the difference, whereas the Act said that the judge if he thought fit might award half of the full amount.

The resolution was put and declared lost.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

COUNCILLOR C. HICKIN (Wolverhampton Trades Council) moved the following :—

*That this Conference, recognising that Unemployment cannot be cured by any alteration of fiscal policy or by State Insurance, condemns the failure of the Government to redeem the promise made in February, 1906, to introduce legislation to make efficient the Unemployed Workmen's Act. It therefore calls upon the Government to deal with the real causes and the evil effects of Unemployment on the lines of the Labour Party's Right to Work Bill, and to introduce a programme of Works of Public Utility to be carried out by the most efficient labour available, paid for at not less than Trade Union rates, and under Trade Union conditions; and, further, calls upon the Labour Members to exert all their power to secure the carrying of these proposals into legislation at the earliest possible moment.*

MR. HICKIN said that no Conference should take place without the subject of Unemployment being discussed with a view to securing a solution of the evil. Until the Right to Work Bill were placed on the Statute Book no opportunity ought to be lost of pressing whichever Government happened to be in power to provide work for those unable to find it.

MR. F. KNEE (London Trades Council) seconded the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

#### WEIGHING OF METAL (CHECKWEIGHMAN'S)

ACT.

MR. T. GAVAN DUFFY (Cumberland Iron Ore Miners) formally moved the following resolution :—

*This Conference requests the Executive of the Labour Party to make such representations to the Home Office as will ensure the extension of the provisions of the Weighing of Metal (Checkweighman's) Act to all Iron Ore Mines and Stone Quarries in Great Britain and Ireland, and to all work done by piece, measurement, or tonnage, by any and all classes of workers employed at every dock, wharf, and riverside throughout the United Kingdom.*

The resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

#### PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

MR. A. SHORT (Sheffield Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference considers that the salaries of the Labour Party M.P.'s are sufficient to enable them to assist in carrying on the necessary propaganda work of the Party without fees, especially in constituencies where the Movement is weak, and also provide for the work of registration. It therefore requests the Executive to arrange a Central Fund to which they shall contribute, in order—

(1) To provide for meetings in the constituencies;

(2) To provide for the registration in the constituencies where the Party has an M.P. or is contemplating running a candidate;

(3) To maintain registration agents;

(4) To carry on the work of organisation and propaganda.

He said that for three days the Conference had been passing very serious resolutions. Those resolutions would not be carried into effect and they would only make real progress in proportion as they secured increased representation in the national assembly, and that increased representation would only be secured in proportion as the strength of the Movement was developed and maintained in the constituencies. The Local Parties were suffering from the lack of finance. He suggested that the Executive should set up a fund for the purpose of assisting in the work of maintaining efficient local organisation.

MR. C. T. CRAMP (Railway Servants) seconded.

COUNCILLOR TOM FOX (Manchester Trades Council) said he was sure everyone would agree with all the points mentioned in the moving of the resolution, but he was not sure they would agree with the way it was proposed to act upon them. They all desired the best possible organisation, but if they were going to attach the salaries of the M.P.'s to do the work how were the M.P.'s going to live? £400 appeared a large sum, but most of the Members had to keep two homes going and had heavy travelling expenses and everybody knew that a public position entailed many claims on the purse. If a perfect organisation was wanted, then more and not less responsibility would have to be thrown upon the local organisations and an incentive ought to be held out to them.

The resolution was put and declared lost.

#### GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.

MR. J. KELLY (Bookbinders) moved the following resolution :—

*That this Conference condemns the manner in which the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons is administered, and hereby claims that for all work let to contractors by the Government Departments, or*

executed in Government workshops, the Trade Union rates of the district shall be paid for all classes of work done, and the Trade Union working conditions observed; and that where there are no Trade Union rates or conditions established, the rates of pay and working conditions of the nearest Trade Union centre shall be recognised. Further, that the Labour Party be instructed to take immediate steps to press the Government for the appointment of an independent Committee, who shall adjudicate in cases where Societies having lodged complaints against firms of not complying with the Fair Wages Resolution, are dissatisfied with the findings of the Departments.

He said that the amended Fair Wages Clause had been in operation three years and they now asked that steps be taken to make it effective. The last part of the resolution instructed the Parliamentary Party to press for the appointment of an independent Committee to adjudicate in cases where there was a difference of opinion.

The resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

#### GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

COUNCILLOR J. M. MACTAVISH (Portsmouth Trades Council) formally moved the following:—

*That this Conference is of opinion that every workman employed by the Government or on Government contracts should receive not less than 30s. for a week of not more than 48 hours; that the feed and speed system be abolished; and calls upon the Party in Parliament to use every effort to secure from the Government the immediate granting of this demand, as a step toward the establishment of a National Thirty Shilling Minimum for all workers. Further, that men doing tradesmen's work in all cases be classed as tradesmen, and not as "skilled labourers"; that casual and unestablished labour be abolished in all departments of the Service; that we condemn the conditions under which pensioned ex-soldiers and ex-policemen are employed in all departments, at wages which, without the subsidy of a pension, are sweating wages—to the detriment of all other workers.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### LABOUR PARTY POLICY.

MR. CLIFFORD ALLEN (Cambridge Labour Party) moved the following:—

*That this Conference is of opinion that, in view of recent events, any Socialist Society affiliated to the Labour Party should make every effort to secure that its members support that Party, and no other political party.*

He said there ought to be a tightening of the discipline in the Labour Movement. There had been cases of Executives of affiliated Societies allowing their members to stand as Liberal Candidates for Parliament. He therefore begged to move the resolution which he was sure everybody would agree to.

MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER (Ealing L.R.C.) seconded, and the resolution was carried.

#### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

COUNCILLOR C. HICKIN (Wolverhampton Trades Council) formally moved the following resolution:—

*That this Conference instructs the Labour Party in the House of Commons to bring pressure to bear on the Government to extend the Old Age Pensions Act in order that the age limit may be reduced to sixty years; and also that any sum of money received from Trade Unions, Friendly or other Thrift Societies, should not disqualify any person from receiving the full Government pension.*

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE.

MR. D. JONES (Prudential Assurance Agents) moved the following:—

*That this Conference of the Labour Party instructs the Executive to take steps forthwith to approach the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Trade, with a view to persuading the Government to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission, or of a Parliamentary Committee, to inquire into the whole field of industrial life assurance, with a view to its nationalisation; pending such consummation, to secure legislation which will render all debit systems illegal; the special canvasser a person guilty of an unlawful pursuit, unless under a service agreement with some authorised industrial life assurance company or friendly collecting society; any time clause in the agreements of industrial life assurance agents illegal; and the making it compulsory for each industrial life assurance company and friendly collecting society to include in its annual returns a schedule showing the number of policies or members lapsed during the year, the amount of assurance covered, the amount of premiums paid in respect thereof, and the amount of cash surrender value, or free policy value, returned to the assurers so lapsed.*

He said they wanted the Party to insist on the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the Industrial Assurance business with a view to its nationalisation. They also wanted consideration given to the question of special canvassers and all the agreements binding on agents.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### SATURDAY TO MONDAY STOP.

MR. W. ROSS (Paper Mill Workers) moved the following:—

*That this Conference hereby reaffirms the urgent need for the amendment of the Factory and Workshops Acts by the prohibition of any working in paper, cotton, worsted, woollen, flax and hemp factories, also in bleaching and dyeing works, between the hours of noon on Saturdays and six o'clock on Monday mornings, except to do repairs to machinery; and instructs the Labour Party to urge upon the Government to introduce without delay a Bill dealing with the matter, or to give special facilities for the*

*passing of the amending Bill in charge of Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P. for West Bradford.*  
The resolution was seconded and agreed to.

#### BAKEHOUSES.

MR. G. R. SHEPHERD (Dundee L.R.C.) moved the following :—

*That this Conference instructs the Parliamentary Labour Party to use every means in its power to secure the passage of Mr. Wilkie's Hours of Labour (Bakehouses) Bill into law; and urges upon the Government the necessity of providing the necessary time to enable this most urgent reform to become an accomplished fact.*

He said there was an amendment on the Agenda which they could not agree to as they wanted something done in the next Session of Parliament.

The resolution was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN ruled an amendment on the Agenda in the name of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners out of order, and the resolution was put and declared carried.

#### PAYMENT OF JURIES.

COUNCILLOR C. HICKIN (Wolverhampton Trades Council) moved the following :—

*That this Conference strongly urges the great necessity of the payment of all persons summoned to serve on juries, and instructs the Labour Members to introduce a Bill to bring about this much-desired reform at an early date.*

He said that they had raised the question of payment of coroners' juries on the Council in Wolverhampton and they hoped it would be adopted. If it was it would be a good precedent and ought to be applied nationally.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to unanimously.

#### INDUSTRIAL DIRT.

MRS. BRUCE GLASIER (Women's Labour League) moved the following :—

*This Conference protests against unnecessary industrial dirt in the streets and homes of the people and calls upon the Government to initiate legislation requiring employers to provide suitable cleansing facilities for the workers and for their working clothes. As a step in this direction, this Conference demands the restoration of Clause 77 of the Coal Mines Bill to its original form, thus bringing Great Britain abreast with other countries in combating this evil.*

DR. MARION PHILLIPS (Women's Labour League) seconded the resolution, and it was put and carried unanimously.

#### MOTOR CAB LEGISLATION.

MR. A. SMITH (Cab Drivers) moved the following resolution :—

*That this Conference reaffirms the resolution of 1910 instructing the Labour Party to obtain an alteration of the Motor Car Act, 1903, so far as it affects motor-cabdrivers, in Sub-Section 2 of Section 3, wherein a driver*

*has to pay 5s., in addition to the 5s. he pays to the Authorities at Scotland Yard, for the privilege of driving a motor-cab; also to continue their endeavours to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act so as to bring motor-cabdrivers within the provisions of the said Act.*

He asked the Parliamentary Party to go on with the work regarding the issue of licences by the London County Council. The resolution also instructed the Party to continue their endeavours to bring motor-cabdrivers within the Compensation Act.

The resolution was seconded and agreed to unanimously.

#### LABOUR PARTY POLICY.

COUNCILLOR A. R. TURNER (Glasgow Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference deplores the want of unity and lack of discipline exhibited by the Party in Parliament on so many occasions during the past year, notably the action of Mr. Crooks in introducing his Labour Disputes Bill, backed by some Members of the Party, without the sanction of the Party or the Trade Union Congress. They also wished to draw attention to the practice of Members of the Party writing articles to the Press which have been calculated to injure the workers in times of dispute; we refer in particular to articles which appeared in a West of Scotland weekly during the Boilermakers' and Transport Workers' dispute.

We therefore remit this matter to the Executive Committee, with powers to draft rules that will ensure greater unity of action by the Party in Parliament, and put an end to the exploitation of the Party by Liberal and Tory newspaper proprietors.

MR. TURNER said that no doubt many of the delegates were startled when Mr. Crooks brought forward his Labour Disputes Bill. Mr. Crooks' action was evidence of the lack of discipline in the ranks of the Labour Party. In the early stages of the Conference some of the M.P.'s had said a great deal about scientific organisation, but he thought the people who talked about that and displayed such a lack of discipline in their own ranks ought to set their own house in order first. That lack of discipline had a very adverse effect on the rank and file. There had been articles in the "yellow press" by Labour M.P.'s, criticising the action of men engaged in strikes. In the "Christian Commonwealth" there had been an article by a Labour M.P. throwing cold water on the men and the women coming out on strike. Mr. Philip Snowden had had an article in the "Weekly Record" (Scotland) criticising men out on strike. How long was the practice to continue? The resolution he was moving declared that the matter should be enquired into by the Executive and that rules must be formulated as a guiding policy for every Member of the Party. He readily recognised that it would be impossible to

make rigid rules that would tie up every Member, but he believed that general rules could be framed which would have an effect on their conduct. If any man wanted to play the part of the free lance it was going to have a detrimental effect on the people outside.

MR. R. SMILLIE (Miners) seconded the resolution.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said it was a somewhat delicate matter for him to handle. By all means they could talk about unity as much as they liked; the more unity there was the better. But there was a great deal of responsibility on the delegates and the rank and file generally. When one or two Members of the Party did something that a small section in the Party outside liked that small section was always very pleased to pass a resolution stating that in that case it stood with the minority; the minority apparently represented unity to that small section, and the majority, disunity. If they were to have unity it must be unity all round, and if there were to be any question as to who were in disunity, it would have to be the minority. After all, however, they were a commonsense Party. The Members in Parliament were accustomed to take strong views, they had been accustomed to take big responsibilities on their shoulders; and when there were forty-two of such men in the House of Commons with all sorts of opportunities for divided opinions, he hoped it would not be asked that a east iron rule should be applied. The unity which would be reached—and which he was sure was coming—would be a unity which impressed upon every individual Member of the Party the common will of the Conference. That was going to come, not by making rules and ordinances, but by the Conference getting a firmer and more natural grip on the Party in the House of Commons. A remark had been made in connection with another resolution that he, in his Parliamentary Report, had made a dig at some of his colleagues. That was not so. He had tried to lay down certain principles and certain rules which, he thought it would be agreed, should control individual action. He had not attacked his colleagues and he was not going to. They sometimes disagreed on small details and he hoped they would continue to do so. If that ceased it would show that they had got ossified, had no new ideas, that no section was making for new life, and that a change was required. He hoped the resolution would not be pressed because it seemed to imply something that he was sure was not meant by the Glasgow Trades Council. It also implied something with regard to Mr. Crooks' Bill which he did not think should be passed. He doubted very much if the critics of Mr. Crooks' Bill had done it fair play. His own name was not on the back of the Bill and therefore he could talk freely. The Bill was a copy of a Canadian Act which had done good work, and if the first clause was read it would be found that, at any rate, there was a safe-

guard which ought to be explained when the Bill was attacked. Whether the safeguard was good or not, he had not yet noticed that the safeguard had ever been stated, and he ventured to say that probably nine-tenths of the delegates had never seen the Bill. It was not honest to condemn a Bill the general terms of which they have not seen. Now that the matter had been raised he would advise them not to pass the resolution in its present form.

COUNCILLOR TURNER asked whether it was not the duty of Mr. Crooks to submit the Bill to the Party at its meeting.

MR. MACDONALD, replying, said it was not. It was not a Party Bill. Did they mean to say that no Member should back anything or support anything without first of all going to the Party meeting and asking leave? If that was done in connection with a Trade Union they would find that the Executive would never rise. Surely they did not mean to say that a Member of Parliament should never exercise his own judgment in a general way and take the consequences when he was not committing the Party. If Mr. Crooks said to the Party that he had a Bill he wished the Party to take up and the Party at its meeting rejected it, then Mr. Crooks' name ought not to go on the Bill. But he had also the right to say that in his private capacity as a Member of Parliament that he wanted a proposal printed. He did not want to commit the Party, but introduced the Bill simply for the purpose of getting it printed and considered. Surely he had a right to do that and then, of course, take any consequences that followed.

MR. J. CRINION (Textile Workers) said that at the Trade Union Congress Members of Parliament had said that they had put their names on the back of the Bill without reading it. Had they read the Bill they would have kept their names off it.

MR. E. H. JARVIS (Amalgamated Carpenters) asked if any individual Labour Member was in Parliament on his own personal account or on account of his being allied to the Labour Party.

ALDERMAN T. MACNAMARA (Woolwich Workers) said he wanted the Party to maintain discipline, but he wanted it in the organisations before he got it in the leaders. There had been a resolution from Huddersfield condemning the Parliamentary Party after the Party had obeyed the resolutions of a Special Conference. Other resolutions congratulated Mr. Hardie and Mr. Wilkie in bringing forward particular Bills and asked the Party to support them. But if they did not like the Bill then they wanted to condemn the man. He asked the Conference not to vote for the resolution because they would be condemning a man for doing something everybody did and not for breaking Party discipline at all.

MR. MACDONALD, replying further, said he quite agreed with Mr. Jarvis's theory of responsibility. Those who were in the House

of Commons were not there as private individuals but were there in their representative capacity. But every now and then a Member would come across a proposal; he might read about it or be told about it. Perhaps he would not be very sure about it, but would be so interested in it that he would like to have it printed. The only way that could be done was to take the risk of putting his name to it and thus getting it printed for public information. It could then be condemned or accepted. They should remember that nine-tenths of the "hardy annuals" that came up Conference after Conference were opposed when they first appeared. Sometimes mistakes were made but surely they could be generous enough to be satisfied with saying that the proposal was wrong. To talk about censuring was not the kind of thing that would keep the freedom of thought that was necessary for the Party. If a Member of Parliament backed a Bill without reading it the responsibility was not with the man who asked him to back it but with himself. What generally happened was that a friend would come up and say he had a new Bill and would indicate its general terms but not its details. The Member, knowing that the mere backing of a Bill was simply for the purpose of getting it printed, and accepting its general ideas, would agree to back it; and then perhaps when the Bill came out he would find he did not agree with it at all. Might he (the speaker) confess that he once did that himself? But he stuck by the Bill and went through with it and never admitted that he had not read it before putting his name to it. The delegates had their own experience in their Unions; they had to do bold and risky things for which they were sometimes censured and rarely blessed. Members had to do the same thing in the House of Commons, and if they did not always do what the Movement liked, delegates should not censure them but act as comrades.

The "previous question" was moved, seconded and carried.

#### VOTES OF THANKS.

MR. G. N. BARNES, M.P., moved:—

*That a vote of thanks be given to the Chairman for his conduct of the proceedings.*

He said that in doing so he was returning good for evil. He had prepared a great

speech on the Insurance Act, a speech that would have paralysed the delegates, and the Chairman refused to call him. They could all congratulate themselves on having had a very happy and harmonious Conference. There had been less bitterness than at any previous Conference he had attended and that was largely due to the genial manner in which the Chairman had handled the business.

MR. J. POINTER, M.P., seconded, and said they could congratulate themselves on having had a Chairman who had conducted the business with the maximum of expedition and the minimum of friction. Like the mover, he had a complaint to make. On the only occasion when he wanted to catch the Chairman's eye he could not do it. That was hard lines for one who only desired to speak once during the whole Conference. He hoped the absence of bitterness at the Conference was only a foretaste of what would exist in the future.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously, and

THE CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he was much obliged for the vote and the kindly observations. The mover and seconder had not caught his eye; he saw them of course, but he missed them. He did so in the interest of the younger and lesser known men. He had done his best and could do no more.

MR. W. C. ANDERSON moved—

*That a hearty vote of thanks be tendered to the local Reception Committee.*

He said they would all agree that in the preparation for the Conference there must be a great sacrifice on the part of the local Reception Committee, and they were entitled to the best thanks of the delegates.

COUNCILLOR TOM FOX seconded, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

MR. W. S. SANDERS moved—

*That the best thanks of the Conference be tendered to the Representatives of the Press.*

He thanked the Representatives of the Press for the excellent reports of the Conference. He hoped the mover of a similar resolution at the next Conference would be able to include in the vote of thanks the new Labour newspaper.

MR. R. J. WILSON seconded, and the resolution was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN then declared the Conference at an end.

# APPENDICES.

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I. Constitution.

II. Standing Orders.

III. The Parliamentary Labour Party.

IV. Labour Party Conferences.

V. German Social Democratic Party.

VI. Directorate, &c., of Labour Daily Newspaper

## APPENDIX I.

# CONSTITUTION.

(As revised under the authority of the Birmingham Conference, 1912.)

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### I.—AFFILIATION.

1.—The Labour Party is a Federation consisting of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies, and Local Labour Parties.

2.—A Local Labour Party in any constituency is eligible for affiliation, provided it accepts the Constitution and policy of the Party, and that there is no affiliated Trades Council covering the constituency, or that, if there be such Council, it has been consulted in the first instance.

3.—Co-operative Societies are also eligible.

4.—A National Organisation of Women, accepting the basis of this Constitution, and the policy of the Party, and formed for the purpose of assisting the Party, shall be eligible for affiliation as though it were a Trades Council.

### II.—OBJECT.

To organise and maintain in Parliament and the country a political Labour Party.

### III.—CANDIDATES AND MEMBERS.

Candidates and Members must maintain this Constitution ; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour Candidates only ; abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party ; and accept the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice.

### IV.—CANDIDATURES.

1.—A Candidate must be promoted by one or more affiliated Societies which make themselves responsible for his election expenses.

2.—A Candidate must be selected for a constituency by a regularly convened Labour Party Conference in the constituency. [The Hull Conference accepted the following as the interpretation of what a "regularly convened Labour Party Conference" is :—All branches of affiliated organisations within a constituency or divided borough covered by a proposal to run a Labour Candidate must be invited to send delegates to the Conference, and the local organisation responsible for calling the Conference may, if it thinks fit, invite representatives from branches of organisations not affiliated but eligible for affiliation.]

3.—Before a Candidate can be regarded as adopted for a constituency, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive ; and where at the time of a bye-election no Candidate has been so sanctioned, the National Executive shall have power to withhold its sanction.

4.—Twenty-five per cent. of the Returning Officer's net expenses shall be paid in respect of Candidates, but no such payment shall be made to a Candidate of any Society which is in arrears in its contributions to the Party.

### V.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive shall consist of sixteen members, eleven representing the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, Women's Organisations, and Local Labour Parties, and three the Socialist Societies, who shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Conference by their respective sections, and the Treasurer, who shall also be elected by the Conference.

### VI.—DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The National Executive Committee shall

1.—Appoint a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, and shall transact the general business of the Party ;

2.—Issue a list of its Candidates from time to time, and recommend them for the support of the electors ;

3.—Take all necessary steps to maintain this Constitution ;

4.—All its members shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other Party.

#### VII.—THE SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Conference, and shall be under the direction of the National Executive.

#### VIII.—AFFILIATION FEES AND DELEGATES.

1.—Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall pay 1d. per member per annum, with a minimum of 10s., and may send to the Annual Conference one delegate for each thousand members.

2.—Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties with 5,000 members or under shall be affiliated on an annual payment of 15s.; similar organisations with a membership of over 5,000 shall pay £1 10s., the former Councils to be entitled to send one delegate with one vote to the Annual Conference, the latter to be entitled to send two delegates and have two votes.

3.—In addition to these payments a delegate's fee to the Annual Conference may be charged.

#### IX.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The National Executive shall convene a Conference of its affiliated Societies in the month of January each year.

Notice of resolutions for the Conference and all amendments to the Constitution shall be sent to the Secretary by November 1st, and shall be forthwith forwarded to all affiliated organisations.

Notice of amendments and nominations for Treasurer, Secretary and National Executive shall be sent to the Secretary by December 15th, and shall be printed on the Agenda.

#### X.—VOTING AT ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

There shall be issued to affiliated Societies represented at the Annual Conference voting cards as follows :—

1.—Trade Unions and Socialist Societies shall receive one voting card for each thousand members, or fraction thereof paid for.

2.—Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties shall receive one card for each delegate they are entitled to send.

Any delegate may claim to have a vote taken by card.

# STANDING ORDERS.

---

## CONTRIBUTIONS.

Affiliation Fees must be paid by December 31st each year.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

- 1.—The Annual Conference shall meet during the month of January.
- 2.—Affiliated Societies may send one delegate for every thousand or part of a thousand members paid for.
- 3.—Affiliated Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties may send one delegate if their affiliation fee has been 15s., and two delegates if the fee has been 30s.
- 4.—Persons eligible as delegates must be paying *bona fide* members or paid permanent officials of the organisation sending them.
- 5.—A fee of 5s. per delegate shall be charged.
- 6.—The National Executive shall ballot for the places to be allotted to the delegates.
- 7.—Voting at the Conference shall be by show of hands, but on a division being challenged, delegates shall vote by cards, which shall be issued on the basis of one card for each thousand members, or fraction of a thousand, paid for by the Society represented.

## CONFERENCE AGENDA.

- 1.—When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.
- 2.—Resolutions for the Agenda and the Amendments to the Constitution must be sent in by November 1st each year.
- 3.—Amendments to Resolutions must be sent in by December 15th each year.

## NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, TREASURERSHIP, AND SECRETARYSHIP.

- 1.—Nominations for the National Executive, the Treasurership, and Secretaryship must be sent in by December 15th.
- 2.—No member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress or of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions is eligible for nomination to the National Executive.

## APPENDIX III.

## THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY

Constituency					Votes polled in December Election, 1910.
Attercliffe	..	..	J. Pointer	..	6,532
Barrow-in-Furness	..	C. Duncan	..	4,813	
Bow and Bromley	..	G. Lansbury	..	4,315	
Blackfriars	..	G. N. Barnes	..	4,162	
Bolton	..	A. H. Gill	..	10,108	
Barnard Castle	..	A. Henderson	..	5,868	
Bradford, W.	..	F. W. Jowett	..	7,729	
Blackburn	..	P. Snowden	..	10,762	
Clitheroe	..	A. Smith	..	12,107	
Chesterfield	..	J. Haslam	..	7,283	
Chester-le-Street	..	J. V. Taylor	..	*	
Dundee	..	A. Wilkie	..	8,957	
Derby	..	J. H. Thomas	..	9,144	
Deptford	..	C. W. Bowerman	..	6,357	
Derbyshire, Mid.	..	J. G. Hancock	..	6,557	
Derbyshire, N.E.	..	W. E. Harvey	..	7,838	
Glamorgan, S.	..	W. Brace	..	10,190	
Glamorgan, Gower	..	J. Williams	..	5,480	
Gorton	..	J. Hodge	..	7,840	
Fife, W.	..	W. Adamson	..	6,128	
Halifax	..	J. Parker	..	8,511	
Hallamshire	..	J. Wadsworth	..	8,708	
Hanley	..	E. Edwards	..	8,342	
Ince	..	S. Walsh	..	7,117	
Leeds, E.	..	J. O'Grady	..	4,028	
Leicester	..	J. R. MacDonald	..	12,998	
Manchester, E.	..	J. E. Sutton	..	5,524	
Manchester, N.E.	..	J. R. Clynes	..	4,313	
Merthyr	..	J. Keir Hardie	..	11,507	
Monmouth, W.	..	T. Richards	..	*	
Newcastle	..	W. Hudson	..	16,447	
Normanton	..	F. Hall	..	*	
Norwich	..	G. H. Roberts	..	10,003	
Nuneaton	..	W. Johnson	..	8,199	
Rhondda	..	W. Abraham	..	9,073	
Sunderland	..	F. W. Goldstone	..	11,291	
Stafford, N.W.	..	A. Stanley	..	8,125	
Stockport	..	G. J. Wardle	..	6,094	
Woolwich	..	W. Crooks	..	8,252	
West Ham, S.	..	W. Thorne	..	9,508	
Westhoughton	..	W. T. Wilson	..	9,064	
Whitehaven	..	T. Richardson	..	1,414	

\* Unopposed.

## OFFICIALS.

(Elected February 13th, 1912.)

CHAIRMAN	-	-	-	-	J. RAMSAY MACDONALD
VICE-CHAIRMAN	-	-	-	-	J. PARKER
CHIEF WHIP	-	-	-	-	G. H. ROBERTS
JUNIOR WHIP	-	-	-	-	J. POINTER
SECRETARY	-	-	-	-	C. DUNCAN

**APPENDIX IV.**  
**LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES.**

Year.	Place of Conference.	Chairman.	No. of Delegates.	Membership.	Income of General Fund.
1900	LONDON	W. C. STEADMAN	129	568,177	—
1901	MANCHESTER	J. HODGE	82	456,438	243
1902	BIRMINGHAM	W. J. DAVIS	110	469,311	286
1903	NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	J. N. BELL	243	861,150	715
1904	BRADFORD	J. HODGE	355	969,800	1,009
1905	LIVERPOOL	D. J. SHACKLETON	348	900,000	1,305
1906	LONDON	A. HENDERSON	363	921,280	2,059
1907	BELFAST	J. J. STEPHENSON	347	998,338	2,768
1908	HULL	W. HUDSON	404	1,072,413	1,789
1909	PORTSMOUTH	J. R. CLYNES	399	1,152,786	2,057
1910	NEWPORT	J. KEIR HARDIE	448	1,486,308	3,053
1911	LEICESTER	W. C. ROBINSON	460	1,430,539	6,628*
1912	BIRMINGHAM	BEN TURNER	474	1,539,092	2,834*

\* Including Special Appeal Fund.

## APPENDIX V.

### GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In view of the interest created by the attendance of Herr Hermann Molkenbuhr as Fraternal Delegate from the German Social Democratic Party to the Birmingham Conference, the following facts respecting that Party's Constitution and activities are worthy of note:—

"The organisation of the German Social Democratic Party is based upon the constituencies of the Reichstag (the Imperial House of Commons) and its primary purpose is to win for the German Social Democracy complete control of the political Government of the Empire. The Party has branches in 381 out of the 397 constituencies of the Reichstag. These branches are sub-divided into sub-branches, of which there are 4,216, one of which exists in each town or separate municipal area of the constituencies. The branches are grouped together in 45 separate districts or National Federations, each of which has a committee, and at least one permanent secretary. There are at present 50 of these secretaries who devote their whole time to the work of these Federations. In addition to these there are 70 permanent secretaries of branches, making in all 120 paid secretaries who give their whole time to the work of organising the Party.

The total membership of the Party in September last year was 836,562, an increase of 113,724 over the previous year. There were 107,693 women members. The Party membership in the different constituencies varies from under 100 in 77 constituencies to as high as from 20,000 to 30,000 in five constituencies.

No less than 33,525,719 leaflets and 2,849,883 pamphlets were circulated by the Party in 1911.

The total headquarters income of the Party from contributions in 1911 amounted to £71,391, of which £45,582 was from members' contributions, and the total expenditure was £44,859. District and National Federations may fix the rate of members' subscriptions themselves, providing that the minimum contribution per month is not less than 4d. for men and 2d. for women, and at least 20 per cent. of the regular subscriptions must be forwarded to the Central Fund.

#### ELECTIONS.

All male citizens throughout the German States over 25 years have the right to vote for members of the Reichstag.

The following shows the strength of the Party at the last six General Election polls:—

1890.	1,427,298 votes.	35	members elected.
1893.	1,876,738	44	" "
1898.	2,107,000	57	" "
1903.	3,008,000	81	" "
1907.	3,251,009	43	" "
1912.	4,250,329	110	" "

In addition to representation in the Imperial Parliament, the Social Democrats had last year 203 members in the Parliaments of the Federated German States, which include the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtenburg, 18 Grand Duchies and Principalities, and three Free Cities—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, and the new State of Alsace-Lorraine.

#### MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION.

The number of the Social Democratic Members on City and Borough Councils increases every year. The Party has now 1,368 representatives on 300 City Councils, and 4,789 representatives on 1,779 Rural Councils—or 8,910 representatives in all. It has also 274 Aldermen on City and Rural Councils.

#### PRESS.

There are 81 dailies, which are all owned by the Party and printed in 71 printing establishments belonging to the Party either centrally or locally. The total subscribers to the Party Press (the papers circulate chiefly among subscribers) was last summer 1,306,465. The central organs of the Party are "Vorwärts," which had daily a circulation last July of 157,000 copies; "Wahre Jacob," a weekly illustrated humorous paper, 307,000 copies; "Neue Zeit," a weekly political and sociological review, 10,500; and "Gleichheit," a fortnightly woman's paper, 94,000.

A net profit was realised last year on the four central organs of the Party, viz., "Vorwärts," £8,778; "Neue Zeit," £70; "Wahre Jacob," £2,171; and "Gleichheit," £662.

£6,969 was contributed from the Central funds of the Party in support of provincial journals.

The Party has established a national Press Bureau or agency of its own, which furnishes the German Socialist Press with special political, trade union, and general news. It is intended to develop the Press Bureau into an international channel of Socialist Press communication."

*(From the "Socialist Year Book," by Mr. J. Bruce Glasier.)*

## APPENDIX VI.

### DIRECTORATE, &c., OF THE LABOUR DAILY NEWSPAPER.

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2/6 per Share on Allotment.

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2/6 on the second day of July, 1912.

2/6 on the second day of October, 1912.

2/6 on the second day of January, 1913.

2/6 on the second day of April, 1913.

*The Shares may be paid up in full on Allotment or before the first day of April, 1912.*

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WILLIAM CRAWFORD ANDERSON, 64, Lissenden Mansions, Highgate, London (Journalist), *Vice-Chairman*.

WILLIAM EDWARD BALSTON, Barvin, Potter's Bar (Gentleman).

THOMAS DUCKWORTH BENSON, Quorndon, Monton Green, Eccles (Estate Agent).

JOHN ROBERT CLYNES, 174, Union Street, Oldham (Member of Parliament).

JOHN BRUCE GLASIER, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard (Journalist).

ARTHUR HENDERSON, 13, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London (Member of Parliament).

JOHN HODGE, 37, Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, London (Member of Parliament).

EDWARD REYNOLDS PEASE, The Pendicle, Limpsfield, Surrey (Secretary of The Fabian Society).

WILLIAM CORNFORTH ROBINSON, 12, Benfield Street, Heywood, Lancs. (Justice of the Peace).

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#### AUDITORS :

COLE, DICKIN & Co., 9 and 10, Pancras Lane, London, E.C.

#### SECRETARY (PRO TEM.) AND REGISTERED OFFICES :

CLIFFORD ALLEN, 32, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

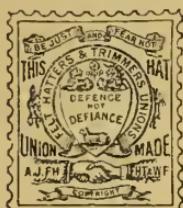
# INDEX.

Adult Suffrage .....	102	Labour Exchanges .....	93
Affiliated Societies .....	33 to 60	Labour Newspaper.....	13, 16, 77 & 119
Amendments to Constitution .....	86, 95	Labour Party Conferences.....	117
Appendices:—		Labour Party Policy .....	96, 108, & 109
I. Constitution of Party.....	113-114	Labour Unrest .....	86
II. Standing Orders.....	115	Local Government .....	94
III. Parliamentary Labour Party	116		
IV. Labour Party Conferences.	117	Membership of Party .....	3
V. German S.D.P. ....	118	Military in Trades Disputes .....	75
VI. Prospectus of the "Daily Citizen" .....	119	Mines, Nationalisation .....	101
Auditors, Report of .....	23 & 73	Motor Cab Legislation .....	109
Auditors, Election of .....	91	Nationalisation .....	101
Australian Visitors .....	12	National Agent's Report .....	31
Bakehouses Legislation .....	109	Old Age Pensions .....	108
Blind, Legislation for .....	93	Oldham Bye-Election .....	70
Bye-Elections .....	4 & 71	Osborne Judgment .....	3 & 90
Cambrian Miners' Sentences .....	99	Parliamentary Fund Account ....	6 & 21
Candidates.....	5	Parliamentary Labour Party .....	116
Checkweighman Act .....	107	Parliamentary Report .....	24 & 75
Conference Report .....	60 to 111	Party Finances, Re-arrangement of .....	14, 82, 86, & 94
Conference (1913) .....	91	Party Administration .....	107
Constitution .....	113-114	Payment of Jurors .....	109
Deputations .....	8 & 72	Peace Congress.....	10
Education .....	104	Persia .....	98
Executive (1911), Members and Attendances .....	20	Personal Membership .....	18 & 84
Executive, Report of .....	3 to 19	Presidential Address .....	61
,, Discussion on .....	70	Presentation to Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald .....	67
,, (1912) Election of .....	94	Publications .....	5
Factory Accidents .....	73	Railway Nationalisation .....	101
Finance .....	6	Right to Strike .....	88 & 91
Foreign Policy .....	98	Saturday to Monday Stop .....	108
Fraternal Greetings .....	68	Secret Diplomacy .....	91
General Fund Account .....	6 & 22	Secretaryship .....	16 & 72
General Federation of Trade Unions .....	9	Special Appeal Fund .....	6 & 23
German S.D.P. ....	68 & 118	Standing Orders .....	92 & 115
Great Britain and Germany .....	103	Suffrage .....	102
Government Contractors .....	107	Trades Disputes Act .....	88
Government Services .....	108	Trade Union Congress .....	8
Industrial Training .....	11	Treasurership .....	16 & 86
Industrial Unrest.....	18 & 86	Unemployment .....	107
Industrial Dirt .....	109	Unification of Labour Forces .....	8 & 71
Industrial Life Assurance .....	108	War .....	1
Insurance Act .....	96	Women's Labour League .....	1
International Socialist Bureau .....	11 & 72	Workmen's Compensation .....	1
Joint Board .....	7		

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AND REMEDIES.

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Parliamentary Speeches by

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.  
(Chairman of the Labour Party),

J. R. CLYNES, M.P.,

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.,

GEORGE H. ROBERTS, M.P.,  
and

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.,

in the House of Commons, on February 15th, 1912.

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